

THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE
MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH, WITH THE CO-OPERATION
OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

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NUMBER 1

Editorial

CHANGES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

The beginning of the new academic year finds many important changes in the personnel of both the official family of the Association and the editorial staff of the *Journal*. These changes may all be found on the second and third cover pages of this issue. Special mention should, however, be made of the retirement of Professor Louis E. Lord, our secretary-treasurer, who has faithfully served the Association during the last five years. He is succeeded by Professor Rollin H. Tanner, of Denison University. Professor Tanner has already entered upon spirited plans for a marked enlargement of the membership of the Association.

On the editorial staff we welcome Professor Sidney N. Deane, of Smith College, as managing editor for New England. We must at the same time regret the retirement of Professor Wetmore after his long and efficient service. The staff of associate editors has been enlarged by the appointment of Professor George Howe, of the University of North Carolina, as representative of the south-eastern group of states, and Professor B. L. Ullman, of the University of Iowa, for the middle states west of the Mississippi. Both new editors will conduct special departments in the *Journal*, which will be announced and presented to our readers in an early number.

Especial attention is called to the announcement of the place and time of the next annual meeting as found on the fourth cover page. We know from past experience what Washington University and St. Louis can do in the way of hospitality, and it is earnestly to be hoped that our Association will give an unusually generous response to their invitation.

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GREECE AT THE PEACE TABLE

BY WILLIAM JAMES BATTLE
University of Texas

To paraphrase Terence, *Graeci nihil a nobis alienum puto*. Surely, therefore, the fate of the lands that gave birth to the Greek spirit cannot be without interest to the members of this Association. Nor can we be indifferent to the condition of the heirs of the people to whom we owe so much of what is best in our civilization. If the struggles of Greece to be free could rouse our grandfathers to enthusiasm a hundred years ago, we of today should be false to our traditions if we did not sympathize with the ambitions of new Greece to complete the work then begun. Lastly our longing for the peace of the world should lead us to want the Balkan Question settled definitely, and nothing is really settled till it is settled right. There is no question of the overthrow of autocracy. The Greeks of today are democratic to the bone, and, for all they have a king, their government is more democratic than ours. The problem is the distribution of the estate of the Sick Man of Europe. In the Balkan Peninsula as in Mid-Europe it lies before the Great Powers to compose national ambitions and unite sundered peoples. To consider with you the hopes and claims of the Greeks is the object of this paper.

First of all, it is essential to grasp the fact that now as in ancient times Greece means something besides the lower part of the Balkan Peninsula. If in ancient times this region was pre-eminently Greece, none the less wherever Greeks lived was also Greece. In particular, the islands of the Aegean were as Greek as the Peloponnese, its northern and eastern shores scarcely less so. Today, too, the language, culture, and ideals of the islands are as truly Greek as those of the Peninsula, and the northern and eastern shores, if not exclusively, are at least predominantly, Greek.

The truth is that the Aegean Basin is a geographical unity. It constitutes a great mountain complex, depressed by some

great cataclysm of nature and its center submerged beneath the sea. The high peaks still stand out as islands and mark the direction of the ancient ranges. For us continentals it is hard to realize that the sea, instead of being a divider, is here a uniter of peoples. Roads in the Aegean mountains to this day are few and bad, but the sea is warm and beautiful, a highway ready built, alluring to trade and travel. From Athens the way to Smyrna was and is quicker and easier than to Acarnania and the feeling of kinship far stronger. The Greek Peninsula, indeed, faces east and the coast of Asia Minor faces west. That even today the Peninsula belongs to the Orient is attested by the Athenian habit of talking about going to Europe.

But are the Greeks of today really Greeks at all? The answer is vital not only to our interest in their claims at the Peace Table but to the inherent justice of those claims.

Beyond doubt the population of ancient Greece suffered fearful diminution. From 750 to 550 B.C. there was extensive emigration through corporate colonization beyond the Aegean round the Euxine and the Mediterranean, as far east as Sinope, as far west as Saguntum. Individual emigration on a large scale followed the conquests of Alexander and the establishment of Roman supremacy. The Greeks were prolific, but well-nigh incessant wars, exhaustion of the soil, malaria, bad government, wrought a depopulation that even in the time of Plutarch left the Greek cities but shadows of their former selves.

On the other hand population was increased by a constant influx of slaves from every quarter and by invaders and conquerors in an unending succession. Gauls in the third century B.C.; Romans from the second; Goths in the third and fourth centuries of our era; Huns in the fourth and fifth; Slavs and Avars in the sixth, seventh, and eighth; Bulgars in the tenth; Vlachs in the eleventh; Sicilian Normans in the eleventh; Venetians from the twelfth; Franks in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth; Turks from the fifteenth; Albanians from time to time—the bare list leaves one gasping. If some of the invading hosts passed on, leaving few settlers behind, others, especially the Slavs in the northwest and in the Peloponnese, remained in large numbers.

In view of the previous depopulation the Greek stock must have become just a bit diluted.

Yet our judgment as to whether Greek nationality has disappeared will depend on what we mean by nationality.

Many people seem to think that nationality is the same thing as race. But race is a matter of physique. Of race the best criteria seem to be these: stature; the shape of the head; the color of the hair, eyes, and skin. Judged by these criteria the races of Europe are much mixed; but, leaving out of consideration the Finns, Magyars, Tatars, Turks, and Jews as being Asiatics, three great European stocks can be made out: Nordic, long-headed, blonde, and tall; Alpine, round-headed, dark, of moderate height; Mediterranean, long-headed, dark, short. Scandinavia presents the purest type. France is Nordic in the northeast, Alpine in the center, Mediterranean in the south. Germany is Nordic in the north, Alpine in the south. The British Isles are Nordic and Alpine. Italy and Greece show all three stocks. If nationality depend on race therefore, Greek nationality has no distinctive basis. But in that case neither has French nor German nor British nor Italian.

A better criterion of nationality than race is language. Language usually implies like-mindedness, usually common memories, usually a common civilization.

The German feeling is well expressed by Arndt in his famous *Des Deutschen Vaterland*:

Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
So nenne mir das grosse Land!
So weit die deutsche Zunge klingt
Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt,
Das soll es sein!
Das, wackrer Deutscher, nenne dein!

Of the French, Mrs. Edith Wharton writes in her *Fighting France* (p. 232):

It is not too much to say that the French are at this moment drawing a part of their national strength from their language. The piety with which they have cherished and cultivated it has made it a precious instrument in their hands. It can say so beautifully what they feel that they find strength and renovation in using it; and the word once uttered is passed on, and carries the same help to others.

As to ourselves Wordsworth's splendid lines are familiar:

We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.¹

Hear, too, the contemporary Sir Walter Raleigh:

Our speech is our great charter. Far better than in the long constitutional process whereby we subjected our kings to law, and gave dignity and strength to our Commons, the meaning of English freedom is to be seen in the illimitable freedom of our English speech.²

Even stronger has been the feeling of the men who speak Greek. From the earliest times they regarded those who did not speak Greek as mere babblers, *barbaroi*. And well they might be proud of the euphony of their language, its flexibility, its exactness, its power of internal development, for in these respects no other language is its equal. Nor has any other shown so great virility and endurance. Egyptian has died, and Hebrew, and Phoenician. And Latin has changed to Romance. But Greek boasts a written history of nearly three thousand years, superseding tongue after tongue in the eastern Mediterranean, including imperial Latin itself, and along with the church keeping alive the fires of Greek culture through all the black ages of Turkish despotism. If the land was harassed by invading barbarians, they ended by losing their own tongue for the most part and speaking Greek.

If, then, language be the test of nationality, the Greeks assuredly are Greek, so Greek that they make us laugh by their feverish eagerness to rid the language of everything not Greek.

But even language is not a final test of nationality. The Alsatians speak German, but they are more French than the French. In America we have eight million people who do not speak our language, but most of them would deny being un-American. There is no such thing as a Swiss language, but the people of Switzerland will be called nothing but Swiss. Most Belgians speak French and most Irishmen speak English, but that does not make the Belgian French nor the Irishman English. Indeed,

¹ *Poems Dedicated to National Independence and Liberty*, I, 16.

² *Some Gains of the War*, p. 21.

conquest, religious movements, political oppression, business, travel, have brought about a mixture so complete that we shall have to find a better test for nationality than either race or language.

The truth is that nationality is a matter of psychology. "Nationality," says Henry Sidgwick, "is the consciousness of belonging to one another, of being members of one body, over and above what they derive from the mere fact of being under one government."¹ "A nation," says Renan more poetically, "is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things, that, to be sure, make but one, constitute this soul, this spiritual principle. One is in the past, the other in the present. One is the possession of a rich legacy of memories, the other the actual consent, the desire to live together, the will to make effective the inheritance that has been received undivided."² To put it plainly, a man belongs to the nation to which he thinks he belongs.

Judged by the last standard, Greek nationality is most undoubtedly Greek. Search the world over and you will hardly find a people more acutely conscious of nationality than the Greeks, more patriotic, more enthusiastic to unite into one power all the lands of Greek feeling. Their ancestors could not unite even against the barbarian Persians. In our time the Ionian Islanders were eager to abandon the flesh-pots of British prosperity to join a state so weak that it could not stand alone.

If the Greek claims in Paris cannot be understood without a consideration of the geography of the Aegean Basin and the right of the inhabitants to the name of Greeks, it is equally necessary to recall certain salient points in the history of new Greece.

First of all comes the struggle for independence. It is amazing that, after so many centuries of Turkish oppression, the Greeks retained enough vitality to rebel against their still mighty masters. The struggle was disgraced by many inhuman outrages on their foes and by factious strife among themselves. Success was won in the end only by the intervention of the Great Powers. There remains, nevertheless, a marvelous record of persistence, of heroism, of sacrifice.

¹ *The Development of European Polity*, p. 26.

² *Qu'est ce qu'une Nation?*

In the next place, fearful difficulties awaited the new state. The land, always poor in resources, was now utterly desolate, much of the best blood of the people had been shed, there was a crushing load of debt, political experience was almost wholly lacking, the jealousies of an extreme democracy paralyzed effort, the mass of the people were pitifully poor and ignorant, the territory embraced in the new boundaries was inadequate to the maintenance of an efficient state, and the thought that the Greek lands still unredeemed contained more Greeks than the new state itself kept men's minds in a constant ferment and diverted attention from home needs. It is no wonder that the new state made slow progress. The wonder is that it continued to exist at all. Yet progress was steady. The autocratic stupidity of Bavarian Otto and the calculated inactivity of Danish George could not stop it. Even the horrible fiasco of the Turkish War of 1897 was not a permanent setback. Population and wealth increased, education became general, agriculture and trade were fostered, railroads were built, the remains of antiquity were cherished and studied, a scholarship and literature were developed that won the respect of the world.

Meantime the great idea of the union of all Greek lands with the mother-country possessed Greeks everywhere with greater and greater intensity. Europe at first laughed at such fervid zeal and then grew angry at such a dangerous undertaking. But wherein was it a less laudable ambition than the ideal of United Italy? Was freedom for Greek islands from Mohammedan Turkey less urgent than for Venice from Christian Austria?

But the great idea seemed no more than a dream till the coming of Venizelos. In this remarkable man appeared a veritable Moses to lead his people into the Promised Land. A Cretan by birth and rearing, his acceptance as a leader at Athens attests the unity of Greek feeling. His shrewdness and powerful oratory have made him the most successful of politicians; his steadfastness of purpose, his breadth of vision, his solid ability, his honesty, give him a place among statesmen of the first rank. Coming to power at a time when faction seemed likely to destroy the Greek state, he saved the throne, revised the constitution, established the civil service on a merit basis, reformed education, made a new army

and navy, promoted economic prosperity, and inaugurated strong government at home and abroad. Most amazing feat of all, chiefly through his diplomacy was organized the Quadruple Alliance of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, that defeated Turkey so disastrously in 1912. That his further ambition of a permanent federation of the Balkan states failed was no fault of his. Against the interference of Austria which prevented the Balkan states from settling their own boundaries in their own way, and the disappointment of Bulgaria which brought about the treacherous attack of 1913, even his moderation and reasonableness could not contend. No wonder that Venizelos is the idol of the Greeks. To him they owe the redemption of Crete and most of the other islands, Southern Epirus, and Macedonia with the great city of Saloniki.

With the old king George, Venizelos' influence was supreme, but in the new king Constantine he found an implacable opponent. Not for nothing had Constantine been educated at a German military school and married the Kaiser's sister. From the start he was determined to rule as well as reign and to earn the plaudits and largess of his imperial brother-in-law. Restrained neither by his accession oath to support the constitution nor by gratitude to Venizelos for his extraordinary services both to the royal family and to the nation, Constantine's ability and his popularity, won in the Balkan Wars, made him long master of the situation.

At the opening of the Great War, Venizelos as premier took at once a position of neutrality friendly to the Entente. His naturally French sympathies, his indignation at German crimes, his distrust of Bulgaria, the alliance of his country with Serbia, made impossible for him any action favorable to the Central Powers. With regard to Serbia in particular he rejected with scorn a proposition from the Germans looking to an attack from the rear. "Greece," he said, "is too small a country to commit so infamous an act."

Into the intricacies of the part played by Greece in the war there is no need to enter. It is sufficient to say that Venizelos consistently favored carrying out the terms of the alliance with Serbia and joining the Allies, while Constantine was restrained

from joining Germany only by fear of the allied fleets. At first the national sentiment was generally with Venizelos. If later a large section supported the King, the Allies were really responsible for it.

The initial blunder of the Allies lay in misreading Turkish policy. In view of Russian ambitions with regard to Constantinople, the Turks had a strong natural leaning toward Germany, which the Allies ought to have realized and, by strong measures if necessary, checked at the start.

In the next place, to placate Bulgaria ought to have been recognized as hopeless from the beginning. The German Ferdinand was in control, and his pan-Germanism was sure to find a ready response in the popular hatred of Serbia.

Next, Venizelos should have been supported vigorously throughout. Of his loyal support there could be no doubt. On the other hand, the King's sympathies were known to be with the Germans.

Next, the King should have been forced to abdicate in October, 1915, instead of June, 1917. Having undertaken by repeated treaties to support and protect Greece, the Allies were not only justified in maintaining the constitution against the King's usurpation but morally bound to do so.

Next, the Dardanelles attack, badly planned and stupidly even if heroically executed, was a grievous blow to allied prestige.

Bewildered by such stupendous ignorance and folly, misled by a most active pro-German propaganda, and browbeat or cajoled by an unscrupulous king, it is not surprising that many Greeks turned away from the Allies. Allied defeat seemed probable, if not certain, and prudence suggested a waiting policy. Even so, when Venizelos raised the standard of revolt against the King many thousands of volunteers joined him. When at last the French had forced the abdication of Constantine, when Venizelos had come back into power and there was opportunity to learn the truth, the nation as a whole joined the Allies with enthusiasm and the Greek army took a notable part in the campaign in Macedonia. It does not, therefore, seem just to bring up the actions of the pro-German party in the first two years of the war against the claims of the whole nation at the end.

What now are the Greek claims? They were presented with great ability by Venizelos at the Conference of 1919. In a nutshell they amount to this: the union with Greece, so far as is practicable, of all Aegean lands now prevailingly Greek in language, culture, and sympathies. They rest in general on the doctrine of the right of peoples to determine their own government and on the eleventh and twelfth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which were offered by the Allies and accepted by the Central Powers as the basis of peace, as follows:

11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

12. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be secured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

Venizelos says:

All told, the Hellenic nation comprises 8,256,000 souls, of whom 55 per cent live in the Kingdom of Greece and 45 per cent outside its limits. . . . The inclusion of the million Greeks scattered all over the world is, of course, out of the question. Let us consider, then, the Greek populations of the Balkan Peninsula, of Asia Minor, and of the Islands.¹

1. Northern Epirus.—

Northern Epirus comprises a mixed population of 230,000. . . . Greece maintains that this mixed population ought necessarily to be allotted to her, for it would be contrary to all equity that a majority with a higher civilization should have to submit to a minority with an inferior civilization. . . . One may be tempted to raise the objection that a substantial portion of this Greek population has Albanian as its mother tongue, and is consequently, in all probability, of Albanian origin; but the democratic conception of the Allied and Associated Powers cannot admit of any other criterion of nationality than that of national consciousness. . . . Notwithstanding that the majority of them speak Albanian, the Greeks in Northern Epirus have formed part of

¹ "Greece before the Peace Conference of 1919," *Publication No. 7 of the American-Hellenic Society*.

the Greek family for centuries, long before the foundation of the Kingdom of Greece. They furnished, in the course of the War of Greek Independence, many of the military leaders of the revolted nation. One of the finest pages in the history of Greece records the "dance of Zalongo," where the women of Souli, whose mother tongue was Albanian, threw themselves from the height of a steep mountain, after having cast their own children into the abyss, in order not to fall into the hands of the Mohammedan Albanians, who were besieging their country.¹

2. *Thrace*.—With regard to Constantinople itself, Venizelos desires that it shall be Greek because its Greek population is in numbers only slightly inferior to the Turkish and because the city, first as Byzantium and then as the capital of the Eastern Empire, was for two thousand years pre-eminently a Greek city, but, recognizing the demand that it be constituted an international state, he does not press the claim. What his feelings are now, since the Powers decided that the Turk should continue to hold the city, we had perhaps better not inquire. For myself, this unwillingness, based on cowardice and jealousy, to rid Europe forever of the polluting presence of a people hopelessly incapable of efficient and just government of other races and stained with the blood of millions of murdered and despoiled victims seems nothing short of calamitous. After five hundred years of Europe the Turk is as much of an Asiatic as ever and should by the verdict of disinterested civilized man be sent back whence he came. One blushes for the factious blindness that vitiates the influence of the wealthiest and most powerful of nations, the one disinterested Great Power, on behalf of justice.

Thrace, outside of the vilayet of Constantinople, Venizelos does claim and, as it seems to me, with justice. The population of the vilayet of Adrianople, which comprises all Thrace left to Turkey after the Balkan Wars except the vilayet of Constantinople, was, he says, by Turkish statistics taken before the Great War, 1,026,873, consisting of 366,363 Greeks, 508,311 Turks, 107,843 Bulgarians, 24,060 Armenians, 19,300 Jews, and a few others. Many thousands of the Greeks have been massacred by the Turks and many more have fled for the time being. But surely it is out of the question to allow the Turks by violence and frightfulness to secure a majority

¹ *Ibid.*

of the whole and then claim the rights of a majority. One might as well admit that a man who had murdered all his brothers and sisters had as sole heir the right to his father's entire estate.

Turkish domination being ruled out by Wilson's twelfth point and by the verdict of disinterested humanity, there are left for Thrace three possibilities: union with Greece, union with Bulgaria, a mandate to one of the Great Powers. The latter is excluded by the unwillingness of America to act and by the unwillingness of the others to let any Power but America act. The choice would seem to lie between Greece, with some 366,000 nationals, and Bulgaria, with about 107,000. The only thinkable ground for doubt would be the possible impolicy of cutting off Bulgaria from the Aegean entirely. But, first, Bulgaria until 1913 never had an outlet on the Aegean except for some seventeen years in the Middle Ages; second, Bulgaria has a good sea outlet on the Euxine, and free passage through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles is assured to all nations; third, Greece agrees to guarantee trade privileges through an Aegean port equal to those enjoyed by Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, and Poland through their nearest ports; fourth, Bulgaria by her treachery to Serbia and Greece in 1913 and her behavior in the Great War, has forfeited every claim to any indulgence whatever.

3. *Asia Minor*.—The vilayet of Trebizon, by Turkish ante-bellum statistics, cited by Venizelos, contained 353,533 Greeks, but it is so far away from Greece that Venizelos concedes its inclusion in a new Armenia to be established as a mandate of one of the Great Powers.

Besides the 353,000 Greeks in the vilayet of Trebizon there are several hundred thousand more living in districts predominantly Turkish. For these Venizelos hopes that an exchange of lands can be arranged with the Turks living in territory now Turkish but predominantly Greek and therefore, as he hopes, to be incorporated with the new Greece. The suggestion seems the more plausible because the European Turks, as their districts have come under Christian rule, have usually preferred to return to lands under Turkish control, even when subjected to no compulsion.

The west coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent territory, as has been already pointed out, are geographically a part of the submerged mountain complex that constitutes the Aegean Basin. It is, therefore, geographically connected with Greece. Historically, it has been Greek for three thousand years. Hence sprang the first poets, Homer, Callinus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, Hipponax, and Anacreon; the early philosophers, Anaximenes, Anaximander, Xenophanes, and Parmenides; the fathers of history, Hecataeus and Herodotus. Here was one of the greatest of ancient libraries. Here were created some of the most wonderful works of ancient architecture and sculpture. Here were enacted some of the most stirring scenes of the early Church. Here still dwelt before the Great War, according to Venizelos, 1,188,359 Greeks. This district Venizelos asks to be united with Greece. Again, in my judgment, with right. Considerations of geography, history, language, national feeling, combine to demand it. It is true that there dwell here more than a million Mohammedans also. This is a pity, but certainly a minority should not rule a majority and still less a Turkish minority a European majority. A great outcry has been made against Greek control on the ground of injustice to the Turks of the Asia Minor highlands in cutting them off from the Aegean. But they would have full access to the Euxine and the Sea of Marmora, and Greece would guarantee them ample trading rights in Smyrna itself. In any case, wherein do they deserve greater consideration than Austria or Hungary?

4. *The islands.*—Last of all the Greeks claim Rhodes and Cos and the rest of the Dodecanese. Here, so far as I can see, there is absolutely nothing to be said in opposition. The islands are geographically as like the other Aegean islands as one pea in a pod is like the others. Historically they have been Greek as far back as recorded history runs. Their population is almost wholly Greek and as pure in strain as anywhere else in the whole Aegean Basin. Italy has no just ground whatever for their possession. She occupied them professedly as a temporary measure in her war with Turkey in 1911 and, remaining still in occupation, prevented Greece from seizing them in the First Balkan War as she seized Chios and the rest. The population is eager for the

change. If the doctrine of the right of self-determination has any meaning whatever, it is applicable here.

Such are the Greek claims. They seem to me both just and moderate. If they are granted, the Aegean Basin will be at last a political as well as a geographical entity. The greater portion of the Greek people will be united into a single state. That they will be worthy of their traditions and of their freedom the history of their renaissance makes entirely probable. Indeed, Greece seems to present altogether the best hope for the ultimate control of Constantinople itself and the leadership of a Balkan Confederation that will secure the peace of the eastern Mediterranean and its protection against a possible fresh Mohammedan advance.

SOME PHASES OF NEGATION IN LATIN

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The ways of negation are an interesting problem in Latin, and this applies, not merely to the negation of individual terms, but of propositions as well. The first of these is a double question of the use of a separate negative or of a compound word, the negative part of which, once an independent term, by the impact of pronunciation became an integral part of the word. This took place in the spoken language at some time before the beginning of literature, yet in the latter are evidences of selection and of the survival of the fittest.

When Latin became embodied in literature it had two distinct, simple, separable negatives, *haud* and *ne*. These, considered on the basis of frequency of occurrence, were of entirely unequal value, both as distinct terms and in the frequency of combination with other terms. The use of *haud* is freest in Plautus and Terence. There is an occasional instance in the fragments of Ennius as well as in Lucretius, who has *haud igitur* several times at the beginning of lines, the negative being one of several monosyllables preceding *igitur*. Caesar has but one occurrence (B.G. v. 54. 5): *Idque adeo haud mirandumne sit*. Cicero has *haud scio* an eleven or twelve times in his orations, twenty-five times in his philosophical works, and a few times in his letters. With *dubito* the occurrences are not nearly so numerous. It is noticeable in Livy, perhaps as a result of the early sources from which he drew. It is very rarely used by Quintilian, is not in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus*, though occurring at least 174 times in the historical works of Tacitus.

A few illustrations from Plautus will show its equivalence to *ne* or *non* in independent clauses except with the imperative. *hau verbum quidem* (*Poen.* 1355); Lysiteles *nisi tu nevis*; Char-mides *immo hau nolo* (*Trin.* 1156); *quo evadas nescio* (*Poen.* 173); *qui sperem hau scio* (*ibid.* 1208); Milphidippa *tum pol ego id quod*

celo hau celo; Palaestrio immo et celas et non celas (*Miles Gl.* 1014); *at pol ego hau credo, sed certo scio* (*Cas.* 355); *cerae quidem hau parsit neque stilo* (*Bacch.* 996). However, *haud* is strongly contrasted with *ne* in the maintenance of its independence, for in compounds it is found only with *dum* and *quaquam*. *Haudsum* is found in *Livy* and in his poetical imitator *Silius Italicus*, while there are only a few scattering examples of *haudquaquam*.

The usage with *ne* was much freer. As an uncombined negative it is found in commands either with the imperative or the subjunctive, as also with the latter mood in wishes. Statements similar to *ne nega* are common in *Plautus*, and occasionally one like *ne dixis*. Its intensive force is especially noticeable in *ne . . . quidem*, as in *ne ille quidem*, "not he even," as against all others. This force it continued to have especially in the formula *non modo, sed ne . . . quidem*, in which the *ne* was felt as a negation of the entire statement when only one verb was used. An illustration of this is: *Quae non modo amico, sed ne libero quidem digna est* (*Cic. De Amicitia* xxiv. 89). It seems to have been a much more sociable particle than *haud*, for it has a considerable range in compounds with words of all classes. Some illustrations are, for nouns: *Nemo (ne-homo)*, *nihil (ne-hilum)*, *ne-fas*, and with the form *neg-*, *neg-otium*; for pronouns, *ne-uter*; for adjectives, *nequam (ne-aequus)*; for adverbs *ne-quaquam*, *ne-quiquam*; for particles, *ne-cubi*, *ne-cunde*, *ne-dum*, *ne-que*; for verbs *nego(ne-ago)*, *ne-queo*, *ne-scio*. But the most interesting of all the combinations is that with the term which was next to nothing—*unum*. There was no Promethean nor Washingtonian voice to warn *ne* of an entangling alliance with *unum*, from the wedding or the welding with which came the victorious particle *non*. With the growth of this strengthened negative the sphere of *ne* became almost entirely limited to that of subordination. For a similar contest between particles, we may compare the results as set forth by Professor Gildersleeve, "*The Encroachments of μή on οὐ in Later Greek*" (*American Journal of Philology*, I, 45 ff.).

Ne had been an independent particle with the imperative; it passed over with the verb to the subjunctive in indirect commands. Notice the comment of *Servius* on *Ne saevi, magna*

sacerdos: Antique dictum est: nam nunc ne saevias dicimus, nec imperativum iungimus adverbio imperantis (ad *Verg. Aeneid*, vi. 544). The change to the subjunctive, with the same verb and with *non* for *ne* is illustrated by Plautus (*Capt.* 139) where Ergasilus asks *egone illum non fleam? egon non defleam* | *talem adulescentem?* in reply to the command of Hegio *ne fle*; the subordination of the verb, which occurs a few times in Plautus, by *Casina* 322: *orat, opsecrat* | *ne Casinam uxorem ducam*. *Ne* was used with negative wishes, and so passed over to the expression of the positive fear, as in *Ter. Andria* 349: *id paves, ne ducas tu illam; tu autem, ut ducas*. But here *non* often intruded, and the combination *ne non* was used, as in Plautus (*Casina* 575): *metuo ne non sit surda atque haec audiuerit*.

I. NEGATIVE COMPOUNDS

The use of negative compounds is one of the most interesting questions in Latin. *Haud* was practically, if not altogether, excluded; the range of *non*, while somewhat more extended, was very limited, as in *nondum*, *nonne*, *nonnullus*, and *nonnumquam*. Yet the field of negative formations is of considerable extent, as there were used with negative force a number of prefixes both separable and inseparable.

A. SEPARABLE PREFIXES

Particles meaning "away," "from," "apart," usually indicating separation, may also have a negative force. These are all illustrated by a number of words indicating the lack or the loss of sense, *amens*, *amentia*, *demens*, *dementia*, *discors*, *discordia*, *excors*. Illustrations are also found of the same force in similar or different words.

Ab.—*Absimilis*, "not like," and *absonus*, "not proper sound," are adjectives whose meaning is changed to the opposite through the force of the preposition.

De.—The compounds in *de-* reach the same goal as those in *ab-*, though by a different route. The latter is "away from" till the extremes meet, while *de-* is "down and out." Some of the compounds with the latter are especially interesting, as *dehortor*, *dedecet*, *dedisco*, *dedoceo*, and *dedoleo*.

The contrast between the positive and the negative forms of *hortari* is seen in Plautus (*Poen.* 674): *neque nos hortari neque dehortari decet*. For the negation of the negative, see *Capt.* 210: *si erit occasio, hau dehortor*. A good example of *dedecet* is Horace *Odes* i. 38. 7 ff.:

neque te ministrum
Dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
Vite bibentem.
The myrtle unbcomes neither you the servant, nor
me drinking under the matted vine.

Dedecus and its kindred forms are not infrequent, and were early formations, as is shown by Plautus *Bacch.* 498: *qui dedecorat te*; and *Trin.* 297: *mores . . . quibus boni dedecorant se*. While these are early, other formations are late, as *dedecratio*, *dedecorator*, *dedecorosus*.

The contrast between learning and unlearning goes back at least as far as Plautus, who has in *Amph.* 687: *haud aequom facit qui quod didicit dediscit*. This is similar to Cicero (*Pro Quintio* xvii. 54): *multa oportet discat atque dediscat*. Compare Quint. i. 1. 5: *Non assuescat ergo, ne dum infans quidem est, sermoni qui dediscendus*. But along with unlearning must go unteaching also, as is shown by Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* ii. 25. 60): *Cum a Zenone fortis esse didicisset, a dolore dedoctus est*, "When he had learned from Zeno to be brave, he was untaught by pain." As illustrating the two phases of teaching may be given Cicero (*De Oratore* ii. 17. 72): *ut docendus is est aut dedocendus*; and, especially with reference to pupils who have been poorly taught, Quint. ii. 3. 2: *Cum geminatum onus succedentes premat et quidem dedocendi gravius quam docendi*, "Since a double burden weighs hard on those following, and indeed they must be untaught more vigorously than be taught." See also the declaration of Horace (*Odes* ii. 2. 19): *Virtus populumque falsis | dedocet uti | vocibus. Dedoleo*, "to grieve no more," occurs in Ovid (*Rem. Amor.* 294), and also in *Fasti* iii. 480, where Ariadne says *potuisse dedoluisse semel*, "I could have grieved it out once for all."

Dis.—The compounds in *dis-* usually retain the meaning "apart," indicating merely a change in position, as in *discolor*,

"to change color," but not "to uncolor," which is a different matter. But in the adjectives *discors*, *dissimilis*, and *dispar*, and the formation *discrepabilis*, "not to be reconciled," there is a negation of the basic meaning. This is also true of *diffido* and also of *dissuo*, "to unsew," which is used in contrast with *discindo* by Cicero (*De Amicitia* 21. 76): *Tales amicitiae sunt . . . dissuendae magis quam discindendae*, "Such friendships ought to be unsewed rather than ripped apart." He mixes his figures in *De Officiis* i. 33. 120, where, also speaking of friendships, he declared *decere censem sapientes sensim diluere quam repente praecidere*, "Wise men think it fitting to wash away gradually than to fore-cut suddenly."

Ex.—Compounds in *ex-*, as *excors*, "heartless," *exlex*, "lawless," *expers*, "partless," and *exsors*, "lotless," are illustrations of the negation of the base of the word. *Excornis bestia* (Tert. *Pall.* 5) is a "dehorned beast." One of the most interesting occurrences of any of these words is Ter. *Heauton Timorumenos* 652: *si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.* In this, *expers partis* indicates that the derivation of *expers* was not known to the speaker, as also in the combination *nemo homo*.

Se-, sine.—The prefix *se-* or *sed-* usually has the meaning "apart" in compounds, as *se-cerno*, *se-grego*, *se-paro*, and *sed-itio*. But in the adjective *se-curus* and kindred forms the meaning of the compound is the opposite of that of the base, indicating, not a state of safety, but a state of mind separated from care, so "care-free," or as a noun "freedom from care." The prepositional form *sine* is used with the ablative of a noun where the corresponding negative adjective or quasi-participle had not been developed. As illustrations we may take *sine pondere*, "without weight" or "weightless," and *sine vulnere*, "without wound" or "woundless." It seems that the Romans did not develop the adjective *imponerabilis*, or *imponeratus*, while the first occurrences of *invulnerabilis* are in Seneca, and *invulneratus* is found only in Cicero *Sest.* 67. 140: *invulnerati inviolatique*. For different stages of development compare *sine culpa* with the Vulgate, *Heb.* 9:14: *qui . . . semetipsum obtulit deo inculpatum*, "who offered himself without fault to God." In considering the occurrences in poetry we must

bear in mind the metrical value of the complex. This is especially true in the hexameter, in which the ablative with *sine* can often be translated by an English adjective in *-less*. We find in Vergil *Aeneid* iii. 204, *sine sidere noctes*; Ovid *Metamorph.* i. 26, *sine pondere caeli* (iii. 417, *sine corpore amat*); v. 549; vii. 830; xi. 429, *sine corpore*; vii. 275; viii. 518, *sine nomine*. These gave the ending of a dactyl and a complete dactyl, one of the most serviceable units that could be constructed. With dissyllables *sine* was but little less serviceable, as in Vergil *Aeneid* v. 694: *sine more furit*; vi. 534, *sine sole domos*; Ovid *Metamorph.* ii. 537: *sine labe columbas*; vii. 306, *sine fine pacisci*. The full equivalence of the ablative with *sine* and other negative formations is shown by such passages as Plautus *Trin.* 375 and 378, where Philo uses *sine dote uxorem* and follows this with *Egone indotatam te uxorem ut patiar?* See also *Curc.* 469: *vel vitiōsum vel sine vitiō, vel probum vel improbum*; and *Capt.* 695: *pol si istuc faxis, hau sine poena feceris*, contrasted with *Aul.* 751: *si ebrio atque amanti impune facere quod libeat licet*.

Absque.—Because of its separative force *absque* with noun or pronoun and a subjunctive has the force of the protasis of a contrary to fact condition, as in Plautus *Persa* 836: *nam hercle absque me foret et meo praesidio, hic faceret te prostibilem*; Ter. *Phorm.* 188: *nam absque eo esset recte ego mihi vidissem*. In classical and late Latin are a few occurrences of *absque*, as the equivalent of *sine*, e.g., Gell. ii. 2. 7, *absque praeiudicio*, “unprejudiced.”

B. INSEPARABLE PREFIXES

The prefix *ve-* is of very little importance as compared with *in-*. Still there are a few formations that are interesting. Most so is the word *Ve-Jovis*, “Ve-Jove” or “Anti-Jove,” the Etruscan divinity of the lower world, in function antithetic to Jove. We find *vectors* and *vecordia*, both similar to other compounds of *cors*. In addition to this *vegrandis* occurs a few times as a negative of *grandis*, and also a few times as augmentative. However, this particle is an almost negligible element compared with *in-*, which is by far the most important of all those occurring with negative force. If *immo* is the superlative of *in*, this particle must once have been independent, and the form so freely used by Plautus

means "most assuredly no," with the "most," however, to be associated with the "no." The need of negative formations was felt by Cicero, and he made use of Greek negative verbals (see *American Journal of Philology*, XXI, 405 ff.). This fact becomes the more interesting when we consider the remark of Munro (*Lucretius*, Vol. II, Introduction, p. 11): "Had Cicero chosen to apply the prolific energy of his intellect to the task, he might have invented and wedded to beautiful language as copious a terminology as was afterwards devised by the united efforts of Tertullian and the other fathers, Aquinas and the other schoolmen." But this Cicero did not choose to do, and the free development of negative formations was left to later writers. It remained for Livy and Ovid, and especially the Christian Fathers, to develop this side of the language to an extent not dreamed of by Cicero.

At the head of the list are the negative participial formations, of which about 350 are given in Harper's *Dictionary*. The positive forms of the words had been long in use, but it was necessary for the early churchmen to develop the negative phases of many in order to set forth fully their ideas concerning the kingdom which was not of this world. Many an act in earlier times had been expiated, but Augustine found it necessary to speak of an *inexpiatum dedecus*, just as St. Hilary did of the *inexquisita iudicia dei*. Tertullian mentions *innumerata miracula* and *substantia informis et inspeciata*. *Inrefutatus* is used by Lactantius, and other forms by other writers. There are also a few examples of the formation of negative verbs. The occurrences of *di infelicitent* in Plautus illustrate the earlier development of a negative form, for *felicito* seems to be late. The range of *infitior* and *infitias ire* is wider, although the latter form of denial is not in Caesar nor Cicero. By the side of *dehonoro*, which is a late formation, may be found *inhonoro*, which occurs in Tertullian. Harper's *Dictionary*, s.v., says, "Hence *inhonoratus*," but this statement should be reversed, as the negative verbal was used long before the negative verb. The same is true of *inviolatus:inviolo*. The formations on the base *inoboedi-, -o, -ens, -enter, -entia*, as well as the adjective *inoboedus*, are all late. Next in order come the allied forms in *-bilis, -biliter, and -bilitas*, of which there are in round numbers 225, 60, and 25.

It is interesting to note that some of the words are explained by other negative formations. The *Dictionary* defines *ininterpretabilis* by "inexplicable," *ininvestigabilis* by "unsearchable," and *inopinabilis* by "unconceivable." It takes some other form of the basic word to give the meaning of *inenatabilis*, "from which one cannot swim out"; *innominabilis*, "that cannot be named"; *inobscurabilis*, "that cannot be obscured"; *insenescibilis*, "not growing old." The effect of Christian needs is seen in *incoquinatus*, *-bilter*, "undefiled" and "undefilably," *incommutabilis*, *-iter*, *-itas*, "incommutable," "incommutably," and "incommutability." Similar to these are *incontaminabilis*, *incontemplabilis*, *incorruptibilis* and its kindred forms, *indeterminabilis*, and *indemutabilis*. Tertullian has *immarcescibilis flos*, "the flower which fadeth not away," *ineffigiaabilis anima*, "the spirit which cannot be portrayed," and Rufinus *incompellabilis*, "the one which cannot be addressed by name." The remainder of the list of negatives is made up mostly of adjectives, there being only a few on noun bases, as *inanimis* and *inermis*.

While the completest development of the negatives was in late Latin, the use of negative formations was firmly fixed by the time of Plautus, this being especially noticeable when there is a contrast with a positive term, as in *Amph.* 437: *iniurato* . . . *iurato*; *Casina* 827: *ex parata imparatam*; *Miles Gl.* 208: *incoctum* . . . *coctum*; *ibid.*, 227: *facta infecta*. Notice also *Most.* 197 (Philematium): *non spero*: (Scapna) *insperata accident magi' saepe quae quam spores*. As illustrations of the massing of negatives, see *Persa* 408: *inpure, inhoneste, iniure, inlex, labes popli*; and *Bacch.* 613: *petulans, protervo, iracundo animo, indomito, incogitato, sine modo et modestia sum, sine bono iure atque honore, incredibilis inposque animi, inamabilis, inlepidus vivo, maleuolente ingenio natus*.

II. NEGATIVES NEGATIVES

While the negatives were in process of integration, disintegration was also going on. *Ullus* became *nullus* and then *nonnullus*, just as *umquam* became *numquam* and then *nonnumquam*. But a more common phase is the use of an independent negative with

negative terms. *Ne nega* is fairly common in Plautus, as well as combinations, such as *haud immerito tuo* (*Menaechmi* 371), *haud imperii* (*Miles Gl.* 919), *haud iniquum* (*Rud.* 1096), *haud ineuscheme* (*Trin.* 625). With these may also be placed the negation of immoral terms, as *hau meretricie* (*Miles Gl.* 872) and *non meretricium* (*Most.* 190).

As has been stated the negative of the wish *ne* was sometimes used with *non* to express the positive fear, and in the same way *nec non* became an affirmative expression, as in Vergil *Aeneid* vi. 183: *Nec non Aeneas*. Beginning with *Georg.* i. 212, Vergil took up the use of *nec non et*, and continued it in the *Aeneid*, generally placing the combination at the beginning of a verse. It seems to have been a taking innovation, and is noticeable in some later writers. Both Pliny the Elder and Quintilian have *nec non . . . quoque*, while Apuleius goes beyond the rest with *nec non et equum quoque illum meum reducentes* (*Metamorph.* xi. 20), "and bringing back too that horse of mine also." Both *nec non* and *nec non et* were metrical conveniences, and were used by prose writers because of the poetical coloring.

The denial of the negative does not necessarily affirm the positive, though it often practically does so. *Haud dubito* is taken as the equivalent of *certum est*, and *haud iniuria*, "not unjustly," as "justly." Because of this the negative is often used with some indefinite term, leaving the statement still indefinite. This usage started early, as we find in Plautus *haud absurdum*, *hau bonus*, *hau longe*, and others of a similar nature. There is with these no clear affirmation of the approximation to the positive equivalent. A number of words, *gnarus:ignarus*, *memor:immemor*, and *merito:immerito*, furnish a fine field for the study of the use of the negative in constructing descriptions "far, vague, and dim." Of these words Caesar has only *memor* twice. Cicero in his orations and philosophical works has *ignarus* either with or without a negative. Both *memor* and *immemor* as well as the one occurrence of *merito* are without a negative. In contrast with these writers Tacitus has *gnarus* forty-four times and *ignarus* fifteen times with a negative and sixty-eight times without. The figures for *memor* and *immemor* are eleven and three; for *merito* five. Notice in

Ann. xi. 27. 2: *haud sum ignarus . . . gnara*; and in contrast with *nescius* (vi. 38. 13; xv. 54. 13). The usage of Quintilian should be of interest to us, as he was a teacher of the old school, and believed in both Latin and Greek. *Nonnumquam, nonnulli, and nec immerito* prevail throughout his work, and taken as a whole he uses expressions such as *non utiliter* with considerable freedom.

Non sine is the negative expression used most freely, especially in the phrase *non sine causa*. This obviated the necessity for the negative *incausatus*, just as the negative expressions *sine dubio, procul dubio, and haud dubium* kept off the negative *indubitatus*, which did not appear till the time of Quintilian, and kindred forms are still later. Caesar has four examples, Tacitus none at all, while of the seventy-five in the orations and philosophical works of Cicero, thirty-five, or just a little less than one-half, are with the negative.

III. NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The effect of a negative on relative temporal statements is worthy of notice. In actions known or assumed to have taken place, we may use either "not before" or "not until"; instead of "not while," either "before" or "after"; and "before" or "while" for "not after." There are, however, other constructions in which a negative, *ne, quin, or quominus*, is not an incidental but a necessary part of the statement. The first of these has already been mentioned. *Quin* was originally used in independent statements, as in Plautus *Bacch.* 276: *quin tu audi; ibid.* 861: *quin tu me exsolui iubes?* In course of time the verb was changed to the subjunctive, when the statement was made dependent on a negative expression, as in *Trin.* 495: *mirum quin tu illo tecum diuitias feras, for the paratactic quin . . . fers; mirum est, "why don't you carry your riches with you: 'tis strange."* This construction remained true to type, with many variations in the main clause, even to the use of affirmative declarations. With verbs of hindering *quominus* was more freely used, though Caesar does not use it with *impedio* nor *prohibeo*, and Cicero only occasionally. Draeger ii. 690 quotes Terence (*Andria* 196): *Si sensero*

hodie quidquam in his te nuptiis Fallacie conari quo fiant minus, as proof of the original purpose force of the construction. But the thwarting of the purpose of the slave would be a good joke in the eyes of the master, and it would be only the attained result that would be worthy of punishment. Viewed in this way, the statement does not differ from the mass of examples in which, after verbs of hindering, it is the result which is held in view, as in Cicero *Ad Att.* viii. 8. 2: *intercludor dolore quo minus ad te plura scribam*, which, translated to show the paratactic relation, would be, "Wherefore do I not write more to you? I am shut off by pain."

There is a group of negative expressions as *non est*, *nihil est*, *non habeo*, and *nihil habeo* which are associated with *quod*. Cicero in his epistles again and again repeats the words *nihil habeo quod scribam*, and has in *De Sen.* v. 13: *nihil habeo quod accusem senectutem*. This does not mean that there was lacking what he ought to write or accuse, but that there was nothing "writable," or "accusable." Had the form been developed he might have used *nihil scriptabile* (see *Dictionary*, s.v., *scriptilis* and once *accusabilis* in Cicero), but not having it he used a relative clause instead. Seneca uses *non est quod* freely with the subjunctive as a polite substitute for a negative imperative, e.g., *Dial.* iii. 20. 6, *nec est quod existimes verum esse*.

We can imagine the time when to the Latin, not yet a Roman, the only form of negation was a shake of the head. This he later expressed in general propositions by *abnuo*, and in some numerals, as *duodeviginti*, by *de* and the finger accompaniment. After the language became embodied in literature, ways of negation showed uncounted variations involving questions of syntax as well as of form, and in addition inexplicable personal selections. *Nil moror* was well known to Plautus, as well as the genitive *nihili* with such words as *homo*, *facere*, and *pendere*. Hexameter verse requires forms of *nil*, but classic prose *nihil*. Quintilian striving to bring back literary style to the Ciceronian norm must have frequently used *nec immerito* to his pupils, though Cicero seems not to have used it at all, and this is but one illustration of the personal element involved in the discussion.

NOTES ON THE *CUM*-CONSTRUCTION

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Students had comparatively little trouble with the *cum*-construction in the days of old when they learned that "*cum* temporal is used with the imperfect and pluperfect subjunctive, and with the indicative of other tenses." But great confusion entered, especially in the writing of Latin, as soon as the grammars attempted to base a rule upon the studies of scholars who advanced rival theories as to the significance of the presence of the subjunctive in *cum*-clauses generally.

The historical problem surely is one that courts investigation; for, in Plautus, the rule is that *cum* in all its meanings (including the causal and concessive) requires the indicative mood, whereas in less than two hundred years thereafter the subjunctive made such inroads into the construction that the indicative of certain tenses retained but a scanty foothold there.

It is distinctly unfortunate that the literature between the early dramatists and the writers of the Ciceronian period provides so little opportunity to study the various steps by which this shift from the use of the indicative to the subjunctive was accomplished. Lacking complete data, it has become the common practice to advance a more or less a priori assumption as to this matter, and to attempt to interpret the facts of the Ciceronian period in the light of it. Such was the theory of relative and absolute time advocated by Hoffmann; and, to a certain extent, the same holds true of the much more acute study published later by Professor Hale. Upon this latter most of the statements in the school grammars are now based.

As a matter of practice, the writer has found that these statements are thoroughly misleading to the student who is attempting to write Latin in the style of Caesar, the difficulty being in part

due to the fact that the rank and file seem to get no clear conception of the distinction which the terms "circumstantial" and "temporal" are designed to mark. After four years of high-school training, a majority are caught by the word "when," and without hesitation will decide for the indicative in a sentence like the following: "When the news of victory arrived, there was great rejoicing in the city."

But aside from this practical difficulty, the writer has long suspected that the statements themselves are somewhat warped through the attempt to interpret facts in the light of an unproved theory; and it seemed that it might be worth while to subject to careful scrutiny all the cases in which Caesar uses a past tense with *cum*, in order to determine exactly what the nature of his usage is. Such a study has recently been made;¹ and it is the purpose of this paper to set forth the findings, so far as they bear upon the problem of Latin composition.

A mere statistical summary affords food for thought. Inasmuch as the use of the indicative and subjunctive are to be contrasted, all cases are excluded where the subjunctive of a *cum*-clause could be otherwise explained, e.g., supposing the *cum*-clause to be dependent in indirect discourse. The following table includes all other *cum*-clauses in which Caesar uses either the indicative or the subjunctive of past tenses:

	Subjunctive	Indicative
Imperfect.....	248	5
Pluperfect.....	176	11
Perfect.....	2	17

At a glance it will be seen that, in these tenses, Caesar's usage affords no basis for a "grand division" of "purely temporal" *cum*-clauses with the indicative. Even on the surface it is fairly obvious that, in the imperfect and pluperfect tenses at least, the subjunctive has invaded clauses that may properly be called "temporal"; for otherwise we must assume that Caesar had but little or no occasion to write purely temporal *cum*-clauses in those tenses. But the full significance of the figures does not appear

¹ "Caesar's Use of Past Tenses in *Cum*-Clauses," *University of California Publications, Classical Philology*, V, No. 1. University of California Press. 55 cents.

until the indicative cases are examined in detail. Taken by tenses, the groups are made up as follows:

1. Imperfect indicative. Of the five cases, three¹ are of repeated action. *B.G.* i. 40. 5, curiously enough, is a dependent clause in indirect discourse; hence some editors doubt the MS reading. The remaining case (*B.C.* ii. 17. 4) is questioned also; it is quite possible there that *postea . . . cum* (i.e., *quom*) is a corruption of *postea . . . quam*.

2. Pluperfect indicative. All eleven cases are of repeated action.

3. Perfect indicative. Of the seventeen cases, nine are in conditional relative sentences of the *present* general type, e.g.:

B.G. vi. 19. 3: *Cum* pater familias illustriore loco natus *decessit*, eius propinquui convenient.

The other eight cases are distributed thus: (a) *cum inversum*, 2; (b) *cum primum*, 1; (c) text doubtful, 3; (d) pure temporal of the past, 2.²

If now we combine the figures for all three tenses and eliminate special uses such as repeated action and *cum inversum*, along with examples of doubtful text, Caesar's entire use of past tenses of the indicative in bona fide temporal clauses of the past is reduced to just *two* occurrences of the perfect tense, one of which is found in a letter written by Caesar to Cicero. Thus, in the whole extent of the Gallic and the Civil Wars there is only one sure case of a past tense of the indicative in a "purely temporal" *cum*-clause.

Hence if Caesar wrote any considerable number of temporal *cum*-clauses of the past, we must look elsewhere for them. And if we were not prejudiced by a preconceived theory, we should readily recognize them among the examples with the subjunctive, as is shown in detail in the paper above referred to.³ Indeed, the

¹ *B.C.* ii. 17. 4 (bis), already cited above as doubtful (*postea . . . quom* for *postea . . . quam*?), and *B.C.* iii. 87. 7.

² *B.G.* vi. 12. 1, and apud Cic. *ad Att.* x. 8. B. 1.

³ The demonstration there given will probably convince most open-minded readers. But if any still cling to Professor Hale's theory as explaining Caesar's usage, and urge that the lack of past indicatives with *cum* is an evidence that Caesar had no occasion to write purely temporal *cum*-clauses of the past, such are reminded that Professor Hale himself insists more than once (*Cum-Constructions*, II, 195 and 254) that *postquam*, *ubi*, and *ut*, with the perfect indicative are not equivalent to purely temporal *cum*-clauses, but rather are convertible into qualifying (i.e., circumstantial) *cum*-clauses. If then *cum*, *postquam*, *ubi*, *ut*, etc., do not introduce purely temporal clauses of the past, where are we to look for such clauses?

onset of the subjunctive is so strong that it has begun to oust the indicative even from clauses of repeated action; e.g.:

B.C. iii. 47. 6: *Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recusabant.*¹

B.C. ii. 41. 6: *Cum cohortes ex acie procucurrisserent, Numidae integri celeritate impetum nostrorum effugiebant.*²

In the light of these facts, it certainly is unfortunate that the grammars accept without question an a priori theory and put before the student a rule that leads him to expect that among the *cum*-clauses of the past he will find a "circumstantial" group with the subjunctive balanced by a like group of "purely temporal" cases with the indicative. This entirely misrepresents Caesar's usage at any rate, and cannot fail to mislead a person who wishes to write in his style. The situation is aggravated by the fact (already noted) that comparatively few students understand the distinction which the terms "circumstantial" and "temporal" are designed to mark; many seem to have the impression that almost any "when"-clause is a call for the use of the indicative with *cum*. So far as the writer's observation extends, the attempt to teach this construction through an unproved theory as to the reason why the subjunctive mood originally began to invade the *cum*-construction has been anything but a success.

As a matter of fact the great majority of students who begin Latin do not carry the subject beyond the second year. Such pupils will never be called upon to attempt to write Latin in anything else than the style of Caesar. Therefore the question is seriously raised whether, in the two first years, it is really necessary to perplex and mislead the student with an abstract philosophy of the *cum*-construction, which may be either correct or incorrect. If we are content to ask no more than an imitation of Caesar, and are willing to set for translation into Latin only such sentences as are Caesarian in subject-matter, the whole troubled question of the mood with *cum* can be disposed of very briefly; for Caesar's usage allows of compendious summarizing:

i. Causal and concessive—subjunctive of all tenses

¹ Cf. *B.G.* vii. 16. 3, and perhaps ii. 20. 1.

² It may not be without interest in this connection to note that there is one case of *cum primum* with the imperfect subjunctive (*B.G.* ii. 2. 2), as against the single case of *cum primum* with the perfect indicative (*B.G.* iii. 9. 2).

2. Circumstantial-temporal:

a) Present and future—indicative

NOTE.—The perfect indicative is very rarely found (two sure cases in Caesar), except in special uses; e.g., *cum primum*, *cum inversum*, and conditional relative sentences of the *present* general variety.

b) Imperfect and pluperfect—subjunctive

NOTE.—But in clauses of *repeated* action (*cum* = “whenever”) the indicative of these tenses is more common than the subjunctive.

Such disposition of the subject is not at all spectacular; but the foregoing outline at any rate has the merit of being based on tangible facts, and not upon an unproved theory; moreover, it is plain and simple and hardly likely to confuse even students of small ability. It is true that for the somewhat more select group of pupils who go on into third-year Latin some amplification of the scheme would be necessary. However, little difficulty is apprehended at this point; for, though work upon Cicero's use of the *cum*-clause is hardly more than begun, already it is clear enough that in his writings, too, the subjunctive has penetrated into the purely temporal group—and this really is the crux of the whole matter. See the following examples:

Tusc. Disp. ii. 14. 34: *Spartae vero pueri ad aram . . . verberibus accipiuntur . . . nonnumquam etiam, ut, cum ibi essem, audiebam, ad necem.*

in Cat. iii. 2. 5 ff.: *Negotium suscepérunt, et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt. . . . Interim, tertia fere vigilia exacta, cum iam pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobrogum ingredi inciperent . . . fit in eos impetus. . . . Ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum iam dilucesceret, deducuntur.*

The second of these passages is especially interesting because of the succession of “time-defining” devices. The praetors go to the bridge “at nightfall”; the attack is made “at almost the end of the third watch”; and the prisoners reach Cicero's house “just at dawn.” No one would think of calling the ablative construction anything but a time-defining device; and what is true of it is equally true of the *cum*-clauses.

Long experience in teaching Latin composition has convinced the writer that there is little danger of making rules too clear and

definite and specific. However, it is not anticipated that the simplification of procedure here proposed will at once find general favor, partly because it has become the established practice to interpret the facts of Latin syntax in the light of general principles, which too often are based on a priori assumption rather than upon impartial examination of all the facts available.

In regard to the study of the evolution of the *cum*-construction, it is a matter for regret that (as noted above) the literary remains are scanty for the period when the subjunctive was rapidly pushing its way into that construction; but the lack of complete data at this point surely does not excuse us from careful and unprejudiced examination of such material as is actually in hand.

Yet for the last fifty years the study of this particular problem has been characterized by fitting facts to a theory, and not by impartial examination of the facts. This fault in method has contributed also to the neglect of a circumstance which the above-mentioned study of Caesar's usage has shown to be of prime importance, namely, the fact that the problem of the *cum*-construction is stylistic as well as syntactical.

Thus, for purposes of syntax study, it is customary to reduce constructions to bare types; e.g., for the *cum*-construction types like the following may be set up:

Type 1: Cum.....*esset*, fuit
Type 2: Cum.....*erat*, fuit

Then the question is raised: Why *esset* in one case and *erat* in the other? Hoffmann leaped to the conclusion that the subjunctive expresses "relative" time and the indicative "absolute" time. On the other hand, Professor Hale would approach *cum* (i.e., *quom*) as an offshoot of the pronominal stem *qui*, finding in the subjunctive clause a qualifying (i.e., characteristic) expression, and in the other a determinative expression.

How far afield these abstractions are from the actual facts of the case appears at once when we turn to a Latin text. It is Caesar's task to tell a series of longer or shorter stories; and, in order to do this without monotony, he more or less consciously strives for variety of expression; e.g.:

B.G. iv. 15. 1: Germani, post tergum *clamore audito*, *cum* suos interfici *viderent*, *armis abiectis* se ex castris eiecerunt.

This little story consists of four items, which follow one another chronologically: (1) The Germans hear the shouting behind them; (2) they look back and see their friends falling; (3) they throw away their arms; and (4) they dash out of camp.

Had Caesar so chosen, he might have told this story by means of four co-ordinate clauses connected by *et* or *-que*; but the stylistic effect would have been unfortunate. He has done far better to introduce the successive items in the development of the action by means of: (1) an ablative absolute, (2) *cum* with the subjunctive, (3) an ablative absolute, and (4) a perfect indicative.

The point that needs to be noticed particularly in the present instance is that logically the *cum*-clause is just as closely related to what precedes as it is to what follows; in other words, it *links* the action of the clause before to the action of the following clause. The same is true of the ablative absolute. Thus, in Caesar's hands, the ablative absolute and *cum* with the subjunctive are made stock properties or stylistic devices, which in varying combination are used to portray attractively the successive stages of a developing situation.

Any chance of understanding the real nature of the usage is lost if we proceed to isolate the above *cum*-clause from what precedes, reduce the case to the skeleton form *cum* *viderent*, *se* *eiecerunt*, and then raise the question whether the subjunctive was chosen to express "relative" time, or because the *cum*-clause "qualifies" an implied antecedent in the main clause. That sort of treatment is simply absurd. As Caesar wrote the sentence, no such considerations were in his mind, even subconsciously. In this particular use (and it is a very frequent one) the subjunctive mood with *cum* was as much a matter of course as the joining of a subject and predicate to form an ablative absolute.

It is not the place here to discuss Caesar's methods of period building; but it is worth while to add one more example in which, by adding the nominative of the perfect participle as a third stock property, he finds it possible to cover the events of a considerable episode in a single sentence:

B.G. iii. 22. 4: Adiutunnus eruptionem facere *conatus*, *clamore* ab ea parte munitionis *sublato*, *cum* ad arma milites *cucurrisse* vehementerque ibi *pugnatum* *esset*, *repulsus* in oppidum, tamen uti eadem deditiois condicione uteretur a Crasso impetravit.

To sum up, then, there is a very strong case against the conventional treatment of the *cum*-construction in the school grammars of the day. In the first place, it is based on an unproved theory; second, it does not accord with the actual usage of an author like Caesar; and, third, it turns upon a distinction which many pupils and some teachers do not understand. For the student of Latin composition (and this is the real test of a rule) it proves in the highest degree misleading.

Consequently, whether teachers are ready to adopt the suggestion of this paper or not, the fact remains that the attempt to teach students to handle the *cum*-construction in Caesar's style will probably continue to be a failure until some better method of presentation is found than the one now in current use.

A VISIT TO CICERO'S TUSCULANUM

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One crisp, sunny day in late September, "before the war," four Americans stood on a street corner in Rome waiting for a tram to take us out to the Alban Mountains. When it came, it proved to be a "double-decker," and we climbed gleefully to the upper story so that, outside the city, we could look over the high walls into the gardens and villas. Soon we had passed through the busy streets and out of the old gate and could see the desolate Campagna stretching on either side, with the ruined arches of aqueducts "striding" across the plain, and the umbrella pines and tombs of the Appian Way on our right.

We followed the old Via Latina; in about an hour we reached the Alban Mountains and began to climb to a long white town half buried in trees, Frascati. There we left the car and took our devious way to Tusculum. All about were the villas of wealthy Romans, great estates, where mossy marbles and deserted fountains tell of bygone grandeur; they were built in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and have become familiar through the sketches of Maxfield Parrish in Edith Wharton's *Italian Villas*.

Our way led through the Villa Aldobrandini. We felt like privileged intruders, as we hurriedly crossed the lawn back of the severe house, climbed a flight of steps in a dark passage that tunneled the high terrace, and came out in front of one of those marvelous medieval fountains. In those days an architect would turn a river from its course and send it down a mountain side in a hundred channels, fountains, cascades, and lakes. We climbed the marble staircase to the upper terrace and looked up longingly to the cascade shining through the woods in its marble channel, but we followed an easier path leading through leafy glades where cyclamen and rare ferns grew thick.

We came out on breezy uplands with tall pines scattered over them and an avenue of embowering ilexes which led nowhere; on up over grassy slopes dotted with crimson poppies, along a lane, and then we took the Via Latina, which was excavated for some distance here, so that we walked literally in the steps of Cicero and his friends.

When we had climbed for about an hour and a half, we found ourselves on a level stretch with only a mass of rock and masonry above us. Here lay Tusculum, the city that Macaulay describes in "The Battle of Lake Regillus,"

The long white streets of Tusculum,
The proudest town of all.

There are no streets here now, only occasional ruined walls and a well-preserved theater, where we sat down to rest, and imagined Cicero and his family applauding some clever Roscius. A steep path led to the ruined citadel on the cliffs; here we sat for some time enjoying the famous view. Washington Irving in his *Tales of a Traveler* describes it: "The Albanian Mountains, Tivoli, once the favorite residence of Horace and Maecenas, the vast deserted melancholy Campagna, with the Tiber winding through it, and St. Peter's dome swelling in the midst, the monument, as it were, over the grave of ancient Rome." Someone told the story of the abduction of Lucien Bonaparte by banditti of the Abruzzi, as Irving tells it, with all its hideous details, but we were glad to forget it as we clambered down the rocks to hunt for Cicero's villa.

There are no inscriptions and no walls that can certainly be identified as belonging to Cicero, and as we strolled down the grassy slope shaded with tall trees and imagined that his garden was here and his Lyceum there, we were forced to admit that although we should like to have it so, in reality it might be far otherwise. For there are archaeologists who scout this location and are convinced that the Tusculanum was about four miles from ancient Tusculum, almost at the foot of the mountain, at Grotta Ferrata. As far as I have read, scholars are about evenly divided in their opinions. Lanciani pins his faith to some ruins on the Colle delle Ginestre just above Grotta Ferrata. He says: "If

my belief could be made acceptable to those in power, those two walls would become a national monument and the goal of a pious and reverent pilgrimage by all lovers of eloquence and masterly statesmanship."

Thomas Ashby, a director of the British School of Archaeology at Rome, says that the site of the villa is doubtful, but that Grotta Ferrata has most evidence to support it. On the other hand, Fowler, in his *Social Life at Rome*, says: "We would willingly believe that it really stood on the slope of the hill above Frascati, and not in the hollow by Grotta Ferrata, for no one who has ever been there can possibly forget the glorious view, or the refreshing air of those flowery slopes."

Professor Karl P. Harrington, of Wesleyan University, Connecticut, says: "I cannot bring myself to believe that the Tusculan villa was down at Grotta Ferrata; i.e., near there, where Lanciani would put it. I took photographs of that hill of his especially, and tramped over it, but can't see how it would have been a real *Tusculan* villa there, nor how the charms of the place would have been comparable to those on the Tusculan ridge, wherever up there you may prefer to locate, or guess at a location of his famous *Tusculanum*."

Baedeker takes it for granted that the ancient *Tusculanum* is the site of this "favorable residence of Cicero"; but the authority most quoted for this site is a German archaeologist, Otto Eduard Schmidt, whose account of Cicero's eight villas was published in 1899 in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Alterthum Geschichts*. He says that one finds the very spirit (*den Manen*) of Cicero on these Tusculan heights; he gives these reasons for not agreeing with the Italian scholars: (1) Cicero's mention of the aqua Crabra as his water supply is no proof, for the ancient Crabra may not be the modern Marrana, as the Italians think; as Cicero also mentions paying for the Tusculan water, his water supply was that of the city of Tusculum which could not have been brought up from the valley near Grotta Ferrata. (2) Cicero's villa had been built by Sulla, in the days when he had the whole mountain side to choose from; it is impossible to think that a man of his character would have chosen a marshy hollow; Cicero, too,

was fond of the heights, as is shown by his owning a house on the Palatine. (3) Horace speaks of the *superi villa candens Tusculi* and a scholiast says "that is situated on the mountain on whose upper slopes Cicero had his villa Tusculana." (4) He mentions the one fragment of the dwelling of Cicero that bears his name, a tile, which he says was found in the ruins of Tusculum. (5) A passage in a letter of Cicero to Atticus (vii. 5. 3): *Ego in Tusculanum nihil sane hoc tempore: devium est τοῦ ἀπαρτῶσιν et habet alia δύσχρηστα.* This proves beyond a doubt, Schmidt thinks, that the villa was high on the mountain; for why should Cicero speak in this way of a place practically on the Via Latina only fifteen miles from Rome?

But even if we do not know just where this villa was, we know pretty well what it was like from many references to it in Cicero's *Letters* and other works. *Initio anni* (67 B.C.), in a letter to Atticus (iv. 7) he says, "I shall rest from all my annoyances and cares (*molestiis et laboribus*) in this one place." In January of the same year (i. 6) he asks Atticus to secure any ornaments he can find suitable for a gymnasium. Then he says, "I am so pleased with my Tusculanum that I am pleased with myself only when I am there."

Two or three months afterward he says:

My statues and Hermeracles, I wish you would send me as soon as possible, and get me anything else for this place you can find; and especially what will seem suitable for my palaestra and gymnasium. For I am writing to you, sitting there, and the place reminds me. Besides I want you to get me some figures which I can have set in the plaster of my atrium, and two carved well-curbs. See that you do not promise your library to anyone, no matter how eager a lover you find, for I am keeping all my pennies (*vindemiolas*) for this place, so that I may make it a refuge for my old age [i. 10].

The next year he says:

I am pleased with what you say about the Hermathena. It is an ornament suited to my Academy, because Hermes is suitable everywhere, and Minerva is the special "insigne" of this gymnasium. I wish you would get as many more such things as you can. All the statues that you sent before are at Formianum. I am going to bring them here. I will adorn Caeta when I get rich enough. Keep your books and do not give up hope that I shall be able to buy them some day. If I do, I shall be richer than Crassus, and I shall despise the "vicos" and "prata" of all of them.

Three years after, in 62 B.C., in a letter to M. Fadius Gallus, he talks at length about a number of purchases that this friend has made for him. In the first place he speaks of arrangements made for borrowing money (no uncommon thing for Cicero), then says he would not mind begging for time if he liked the things, but he does not. He says:

You have paid more for those four or five statues than I would for all the statues in the world; if they were like these. You compare those Bacchae with Metellus's Muses. How are they alike? In the first place I never would have paid that for the Muses, and all the Muses would have said I was right; but still they would have been suited to my library and my tastes; but what place have Bacchae in my house? I want things suitable for gymnasia and palaestra. But why should I, the champion of peace, have a statue of Mars? I am glad you didn't buy the statue of Saturn. Those two would have put me hopelessly in debt. Some new exhedria have been built in my gardens. I should like some paintings for these: *etenim si quid generis istius modi me delectat, pictura delectat* [Ad. fam. vii. 23].

A more practical note is struck in a note to his wife Terentia, fifteen years later, October, 47 B.C.

I am coming to Tusculanum, I think, on the fifth or sixth. See that everything is ready there, for perhaps there will be several friends with me, and I expect to stay some time. If the tub is not in position in the bathroom, please see that it is, and everything else that is necessary for comfort and health. *Vale* [Ad. fam. xiv. 20].

In *De divinatione* i. 5, he says that he and his brother Quintus went into the Lyceum to walk, "for that is the name of the upper Gymnasium." Again in the same book (ii. 3) he says: "When we had walked long enough, we sat down in the library which is in the Lyceum." In the *Tusculanae disputationes* (ii. 3) he says that once when several friends were with him, they used to have conversations on philosophical questions after the custom of the Greeks. Each would say what he wished discussed and Cicero would talk. These conversations were carried on in the Lyceum in the morning; in the afternoon they would descend to the Academy, because by that time the sun was lower. Sometimes they would walk up and down, and sometimes they would sit down.

In a letter to Atticus (xiii. 29), Cicero speaks of covered walks at Tusculanum. These may have been the *exhedria* mentioned in the letter to Gallus, in which Cicero wished pictures placed. If

one remembers the ancient Lyceum just outside Athens, with its many covered walks and porticoes, one has a picture in his mind for Cicero's Lyceum; of a garden with roses and rosemary and statues and fountains, surrounded by glistening white marble colonnades, broadened sometimes into rooms, where books and pictures would be safe; below this on the hillside is the house with plenty of rooms for study or entertainment (Fowler), and below this the Academy, where the walks were more open, only shaded by trees and vines, like our pergolas, but beautiful with flowers, rare trees, and gleams of marbles amidst the green.

Of course this means an expensive property, but Cicero does not hint that it was not expensive. He tells Atticus (i. 1. 11) that Tusculanum and Pompeianum delight him very much, except that they overwhelm him, not with Corinthian bronze (the highest art) but with Forum bronze (idiomatic for debts). In 57 B.C. after Cicero returned from exile and wanted to repair his Tusculanum, which his enemies had plundered, the consuls gave him 500,000 sesterces (\$20,000), which everyone said was entirely too little.

For twenty-four years Cicero possessed this villa, buying it in 67 B.C., the year before he was praetor, and leaving it, Plutarch says, when he received word of his proscription in October, 43 B.C. The letters written from Tusculanum are generally cheerful and interesting, and mention several of the other Romans who had villas near, Varro, Lucullus, Crassus, Brutus, and Cato. This was Cato's ancestral home; Lucullus had built an extremely elegant villa there, spending a quantity of money, and not with the best taste. But he had a good library, in regard to which there is an interesting passage in *De finibus* (iii. 2):

When I was at my Tusculanum and wished to use some books from the library of Lucullus, I went to his villa to get them, as I was accustomed. When I reached there, I saw Marcus Cato who I had not known was there, sitting in the library, surrounded by many books written by the Stoics; for he was extremely fond of reading, as you know, and could not read enough, even braving the silly criticism of the people and reading in the Curia itself, while the senate was assembling; nor did it interfere with his work for the state. When he saw me, he immediately rose, "You here?" he said, "at your villa, I suppose. If I had known you were there, I should have come to see you."

"I came yesterday," I said, "about evening; leaving the city at the beginning of the games. I came here to get some books."

After a little conversation about Lucullus, Cato asked, "Why do you, when you have so many books, come here for them?" "I came to get certain commentaries on Aristotle," Cicero answered, "which I knew were here. I mean to read them at my leisure; though, as you know, I have very little of that." Then they discussed the Stoics, to whom Cato seemed to be devoted.

The *De finibus* was written to Brutus, after the Civil War, when Cicero had little part in politics and took refuge in writing. He was very fond of Brutus and speaks of him almost constantly in his letters during these years.

Varro, the learned, was a great friend of Cicero's. In a letter to him written in 46 B.C. (*Ad fam.* ix. 6. 4) Cicero tells him he is the only one he knows who understands the benefits and pleasures of learning.

Indeed those Tusculan days of yours are the very essence of life, I think, and I would gladly give up wealth to others if I might live in this way, with nothing to interfere. I am imitating you as much as I can, and finding peace most pleasantly in my studies; for who would not grant me this, that when my country either could not or did not wish to use my help, I should return to this life, which many learned men, perhaps not justly, but still many, have thought ought to be preferred even to work for the state?

Perhaps Varro's learning was a little wearing at times; in a letter to Atticus (xiii. 33) written just a year after this he said that Varro came to see him at Tusculanum at such a time that he had to be kept. But Cicero did not detain him with such force that he tore his cloak.

There is a little personal reference that is interesting in a letter to Quintus Cicero (*Ad Quint.* iii. 7) written from Tusculanum. "I have written this before light, at a little wooden lampstand (*lychnuchum ligneolum*) which is very precious to me, because they say that you had it made when you were at Samos. *Vale, mi suavissime et optime frater.*"

In 45 B.C. Cicero's beloved Tullia, his Tulliola, died at Tusculanum, and for a while the letters are very sad. He writes constantly to Atticus asking him to choose some gardens for a memorial

to Tullia; then he changes his mind and decides to have a shrine built at Tusculum; he begs piteously in several letters that Atticus shall see about it. In May he had thought he could never go to Tusculanum again, but in June he did go there and wrote to Atticus, "I am more comfortable here because I receive your letters oftener and can see you sometimes; I am unhappy everywhere" (xii. 45).

Next day but one he writes: *Sentiebam omnino quantum mihi praesens prodesse sed multo magis post discessum tuum sentio* (xii. 49).

In July he had many friends there and talked politics, especially about Caesar, with much interest; gradually after that his letters become more cheerful, full of Brutus and his writing, and of course of political discussions. Still these letters are sad, and let us leave them with this last reference to his beloved Tusculanum, his *οἶκος φίλος*. He wrote from Arpinum in June, 44 B.C. (*Ad Att. xv. 16*), that although it was very lovely there, somehow his feet would carry him toward Tusculanum.

THE ORGETORIX EPISODE

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Two years before Caesar arrived in Gaul, the Helvetian Orgetorix, charged with high treason, succeeded in escaping trial, and shortly afterward, when his action had practically precipitated civil war, was found dead. Three chapters of a terse, business-like narrative give us his grandeur and decadence. Behind him we dimly note the fitful stirrings that might have made a great Keltic empire across the Alps. A colorful personality flashes before our eyes and is gone.

What was it that happened at the trial or attempted trial of Orgetorix? A day had been duly set for the *causae dictio*. On that day, an army of more than ten thousand men—perhaps twice as many—assembled either under his leadership or at his bidding. *Per eos*, says Caesar, *ne causam diceret se eripuit* (B.G. i. 4). The usual interpretation is that because of the presence of this multitude, no trial whatever took place, and that the magistrates found no way of vindicating their flouted jurisdiction, except by declaring Orgetorix an outlaw and making war upon him.¹

Now, it is plain that these men were not assembled to rescue Orgetorix from arrest, because he cannot have been under arrest at the time. The words *coegit, eodem conduxit*, make that impossible. And it is surely quite an untenable hypothesis that he died in prison.² If he was not under arrest, it is hard to understand why he appeared at all, since it was apparently his intention not to submit to trial. If he wished to defy the summons of the magistrates, and had reason to believe that he could successfully do so, would not valuable time be lost and unnecessary risk be run by this demonstration?

¹ That is substantially the view of all commentators. Cf. T. Rice Holmes, *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul*, p. 39.

² Kraner-Dittenberger, *Caesar, De Bello Gallico*, p. 71. Many editors assert that Orgetorix was under arrest before trial. Beuvis et Dosson, *Caesar, Comm. sur la guerre des Gaules*, p. 7; Doberenz-Dinter, p. 5; Fugner, *Komm.*, p. 7.

Obviously we know too little of the facts to answer this question with any confidence. However, in what follows, I should like to suggest another possibility.

By Helvetian law, we are told, a prisoner accused of treason was compelled "to plead his cause in chains." He was not seized and brought to trial. Apparently he came there upon proper summons, was then shackled and required to proceed with his defense. We may suppose that the purpose of such a provision was to create a prejudice against him on the part of the judges. That would be quite in keeping with primitive systems of law. A trial at primitive law was not an occasion where an investigation or a searching examination of facts was conducted; but where a sentence was pronounced in accordance with a prescribed and hieratic formula. The only investigation that was held was whether the formula was properly selected and correctly recited. A duly formulated accusation was, to all intents and purposes, a conviction.

It is true that at this time both Helvetians and Romans had discarded many of the crudities of their primitive legal systems. But some remained. And it was particularly in such matters as these that ancient customs were likely to be observed, however barbarous. We may recall that in England, until 1695,¹ no man accused of treason was allowed counsel or sworn witnesses in his behalf, or protected by any of the rules of evidence in force in other cases. And in the number of instances cited by Livy,² the formal accusation by the tribune, the *diem dicere*, was treated by the accused as equivalent to conviction. In the case of the *decemvir*, Appius Claudius, the members of his *gens* and their retainers went into mourning at once.³ When Marcus Manlius was accused, he himself put on mourning, but not his kindred—a fact noted and disapproved by the people.⁴ The function of the popular *iudicium* was apparently that of assessing the penalty. The term *condemnare* means precisely that. And in the opposite *absolvere*, we see further

¹ By an act of William III (7 & 8 Will. III, c. 3), Jenks, *A Short History of English Law*, pp. 336-37.

² Livy ii. 35; ii. 41; iii. 57; vi. 20.

³ Livy iii. 58. ⁴ Livy vi. 20.

evidence that the accusation itself caused a sort of ban, which it needed positive action, contrary in its nature, to remove or loose.

What then can have been the value or meaning of the expression *causam dicere*? It was not an attempt to prove the charges false, but an appeal to the compassion of the *iudices*, who in such cases were the assembled *populus*. And all conceivable means of working upon the emotions of the judges were not only permitted, but the omission of any one of them would be treated as an additional affront. We have excellent illustration of that in the instances from Livy already cited, especially in the story of Manlius. There is not a word in his defense that could tend to disprove the charges against him. To advance any defense seemed irrelevant. But on the contrary, the men whose needs he had alleviated, those whose lives he had saved, are marched before the Quirites convened to pronounce *ius*; and finally the wounds he had received are bared for their commiseration and the Capitol pointed to as the eternal witness of his services. And while his appeal was successful, we see that under the primitive conditions imagined by Livy, the result of the trial was not an acquittal in our sense, but simply negative in character. The people failed to assess a penalty. The accused was promptly summoned again in due form, and his reiterated appeal for mercy was this time found unavailing.¹

I do not mean that all these details are to be taken as established historical facts. They do show, however, what Livy believed did happen, or could have happened. And Livy doubtless knew what the ancient procedure was.

We see, therefore, that if matters got to *causae dictio*, it was ill for the accused.² His only chance lay in the kindly disposition of the multitude, and when passions ran high that chance was slim indeed. The suggestion lies at hand that one feature of Orgetorix'

¹ Livy vi. 20, 5, 10.

² A remarkable analogy to the function of the *causae dictio* in such trials is found in the custom in English capital cases of asking the prisoner after conviction "whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced upon him to die, according to law." That inquiry, as we know, was often answered by a long speech, which could have no effect except that of possibly moving the judge to mercy, if there was any discretion in the substance or form of the sentence to be imposed. A recent instance is the long speech that Sir Roger Casement delivered under these circumstances (*London Times*, June 30, 1916).

trial had a more gruesome purpose than is usually imagined. That feature is the *exvinculis*. Taken independently, it might mean that he was in prison at the time of the trial. But that, we have seen, was not the case. We must assume that literally, upon formal arraignment, he would have been put in chains. This seems a futile precaution, if, as is generally supposed, it was meant to prevent flight. Perhaps the next sentence furnishes the clue. *Damnum poenam sequi oportebat ut igni cremaretur*. That is a crabbed and unusual way of saying that the punishment for treason in Helvetia was death by fire. But if it meant that the accused was chained to the stake in the public square, that he was allowed his appeal to the mercy of the people, that if they cried him down, flames were at once applied to the faggots, we shall have an explanation at once for the expression used by Caesar, and the imminence of the danger from which Orgetorix was rescued.¹

How did Orgetorix avoid the *causae dictio*? He might have stayed at home and avoided all immediate danger, protected by his formidable feudal army. But the formal accusation of the magistrate had a binding effect. As in the ancient Roman procedure, a day had been set for him. On that day the formula of accusation would begin to work. If his *causae dictio* had a chance of being successful, if his tears and entreaties moved his

¹ This would be in accord with the fact that the proceedings were almost certainly in the open air, so that anything like our prisoner's dock cannot have existed.

It shocks our sense of propriety that an accused prisoner should be made ready for execution and the execution carried out at once, if he fails to persuade his judges. But there were examples of a similar provision in some ancient codes. The *locus classicus* is Demosthenes (in *Timocratem* 139-40) speaking of the Locrians, *ἴαρ τις βούληται νόμον καινὸν τιθέναι, ἐν βρόχῳ τὸν τράχηλον ἔχων νομοθετεῖ*. "If anyone proposes a new law, he advocates its passage with his neck in a noose." And he goes on to say that if the proposer is voted down, he is incontinently hanged. Polybius (xii. 16) refers the law to Zaleucus, and gives as an instance of its application a case where it was merely a question of interpreting an existing law: *κατὰ τὸν Ζαλεύκου νόμον—τοῦτο δὲ ἐστι—βρόχων κρεμασθέντων λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ νομοθετοῦ γνώμης*. We find it mentioned among the laws of Zaleucus by Stobaeus (*Floril.* 44. 20), *eis βρόχον εἴρας τὸν τράχηλον, λεγέτω*. Diodorus Sic. (xii. 17) ascribes it to Charondas of Thurii. He calls it "exceedingly strange," *παραδοξότατον*, but it does not seem to have impressed Demosthenes and Polybius so. "*ἐν βρόχῳ*" "*in laqueo*," is surely not very different from "*ex vinculis*."

judges, they could demand of his accusers a withdrawal of the formulaic charge. That would have been a literal *absolutio*. But he promised himself little from that source. Was there another way of freeing himself?

The ban resting on the accused, the guilt that settled upon him, was the result of the formula of accusation. Being a formula, it could be counteracted by another. All over the ancient world, proof of what we call innocence was made, not by the testimony of impartial witnesses, but by the oath, or solemn formula, of the accused himself supported by compurgators, that is, by men who swore syllable by syllable and letter by letter with the accused, or swore that his oath was clean, without professing or pretending any independent knowledge of the facts, but solely out of personal devotion to him.¹ Not only was there no need that they should be impartial outsiders, but they were usually kinsmen. Indeed in many ancient codes, they were required to be, or at any rate, associated with the accused by other bonds.²

The next point to remember is, that these compurgators were often astonishingly numerous. In 824, the Bishop of Worcester established his point by his oath and that of "fifty mass-priests, ten deacons, and a hundred and fifty other ecclesiastics."³ And among the Cymric kinsmen of Orgetorix, oath-takers or compurgators were often three hundred and sometimes six hundred in number.⁴ Large as the number was, it was so easy for a Welshman to clear himself of a charge, especially where an alien was his accuser, that in 1413 the method was specially forbidden in cases arising out of the late rebellion.⁵ In later times the number, while fixed for every occasion, varied with the nature of the charge and the character of the parties. In the case of theft or dispute as to

¹ Compurgation is discussed in almost every history of law. Cf. especially Lea, *Superstition and Force*, pp. 13-90. From this admirable little book many of the following instances are taken. A brief account is to be found in Hoops, *Reallexikon d. Germ. Altert.*, s.v. "Eid." Cf. also Thayer, *A Preliminary Treatise on Evidence at Common Law*, pp. 26 ff.

² Lea, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36; Pike, *History of Crime in England*, pp. 55 ff.

³ Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Spelman, *Concil.*, I, 335. ⁴ Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 38, 42.

⁵ Statutes, 1 Hen. V, c. 6, "by one assache, after the custom of Wales, that is to say, by the oath of three hundred men."

property in one Germanic code we hear, *quanta sunt librae, tanti sint et iuratores.*¹ And if we take the statement literally that in *Ditmar* no less than thirty "full" oaths were or might be required, we have a number that would vary from seven hundred and twenty to two thousand one hundred and sixty.²

Again the compurgation was essentially extrajudicial or ante-judicial in nature. It did not form part of the *iudicium* proper but might long precede it, as long as the requisite publicity was attained. And since it dissolved the effect of the formal accusation, it rendered a trial in the ancient sense useless, because there was nothing to try, for no issue was raised.

Suppose, then, that *Orgetorix* came to the assembly with his men, not to disperse the court with violence, but to claim his ancient privilege of swearing himself free with the support of his clansmen. The fact that ten thousand of them are called members of his *familia* need not trouble us. *Familia* is often used in the broadest sense, as fully equivalent to *gens*³ or clan, either with or without the slaves that were part of each component household. Again, even if Caesar thought of them as slaves, they were much more likely to have been serfs, and serfs were often competent oath-takers.⁴ Even slaves might swear in compurgation according to Lombard law.⁵ At any rate, from his attendant horde *Orgetorix* could easily satisfy any demands made upon him, whatever may have been the number or the quality of compurgators desired. And that he deemed his purpose to have been a peaceful, and not a hostile, one, in strict accordance with law, may be inferred from the fact that his men were apparently not armed.

Why, then, should his act have had such fatal consequences? It may well have been the case that treason was, as in so many other systems, outside of the usual procedure, and the magistrates may have denied the right to use this form of proof. Or again, compurgation may have been practically obsolete, as was the

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalt* (5th ed.), II, 496, note.

² Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgesch.*, II, 385.

³ Cf. the writer's article "Gens, Familia, Stirps," *Class. Phil.*, IX, 235-47, and Professor Rolfe's discussion of these terms in *Suetonius*, *Class. Phil.*, X, 455 ff.

⁴ Grimm, *op. cit.*, II, 498.

⁵ Lea, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

case in England when, after a disuse of centuries, a defendant in 1824 claimed the right to "wage his law," i.e., prove his case by the oaths of compurgators, and compelled in this way the abandonment of the suit.¹ It would be quite in keeping with the circumstances as we can imagine them, if a feudal chief like Orgetorix appeared to demand an ancient privilege which his more progressive countrymen had abandoned. The notoriety of his guilt, the seriousness of the offense, and the illusory nature of such proof as this gave the magistrates no choice but to save the endangered state by declaring martial law. In that case, while they were undoubtedly justified, we shall have to remember that it was not Orgetorix but the authorities of his tribe who were legally in the wrong.

Caesar tells us nothing of all this. That, however, is not surprising. He got his information of this incident at second or third hand, long after the event. Very likely his informant did not trouble the Roman commander with details in which he cannot have supposed him to be interested. Nor would Caesar have found any compelling reason for mentioning all the details, if he had known them. In the legal procedure of Rome in Caesar's time, the oath was still important, but compurgation was unknown—perhaps it had never been known in Rome. Caesar could have considered it only as a barbaric and superstitious custom, crudely subversive of law. Its picturesqueness probably would not have impressed him. Varied as his talents were, there was one thing he decidedly was not, and that was an antiquarian.

¹ *King vs. Williams*, 2 Barn. & Cress. 528. Wager of law was not abolished till 1833. It seemed to have been in common use in the ancient "Court of Pie Poudre" of Bristol in 1789. Carter, *English Legal Institutions*, p. 268.

Notes

[Contributions in the form of notes or discussions should be sent to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

THE GENITIVE CASE WITH *CURARE*

The recognition of the construction of the genitive with *curare* is based solely upon the interpretation of two passages in Apuleius. A consideration of these passages will, I believe, show that the genitive in both instances can with greater plausibility be otherwise explained.

The first passage (*Met.* v. 2), "nec corporis curatae tibi regales epulae morabuntur," is thus translated and explained by Purser in his edition of Cupid and Psyche: "'and when you have prepared yourself (got yourself ready) a splendid banquet will be served you without delay.' *Corporis* is genitive of respect governed by *curatae*; lit. 'properly cared for in respect of body.' This genitive is common after adjectives. It is rare after verbs. . . . An exact parallel to the genitive after *curare* is found in chapter 4, 'novam nuptam interfectae virginitatis curant.'"

Were it not for the construction attributed to *curare* in this last passage it is probable that one would be content simply to say that *corporis curatae*, "cared for of body," is an Apuleian extension of the common construction of genitive with adjectives. Such an explanation in view of Apuleius' bold use of the construction elsewhere would be quite justifiable.

The complete sentence of which a part is cited at the end of Purser's note reads thus: "Statim voces cubiculo praestolatae novam nuptam interfectae virginitatis curant." *Novam nuptam* is construed as object of *praestolatae* and *virginitatis* as genitive with *curant*. I suggest that the more natural interpretation would be to construe *praestolatae* absolutely (a use frequently met with in Apuleius) and *novam nuptam* as object of *curant*. *Interfectae virginitatis* would therefore be a genitive of characteristic modifying *novam nuptam*. Apuleius is particularly partial to the construction of genitive of characteristic.

My conclusion is that in Latin there is no such construction as genitive with *curare*.

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THE *MENTE* ADVERB IN VIRGIL

In an interesting and important article in *Classical Philology*, V, 83-96, Professor Shorey discusses a Greek analogue of the Romance adverb. The analogue is found in a number of phrases of modality containing $\phi\mu\gamma\nu$ or other words of about the same general significance as *animus* and *mens* in Latin.

Professor Shorey adverts to the fact that precisely the same thing occurs in Latin, and cites a number of instances from Catullus, Tacitus, and Cassiodorus in which that is the case. To these Professor Beeson (*ibid.*, p. 84) adds a few more from late writers, ranging from Apuleius to Claudian. In almost every case, the modern Romance adverb in *-ment*, *-mente*, is not only precisely analogous to the phrase containing *mente* in Latin, but is easily the best translation of the phrase. Striking instances are *obstinata mente* (Catullus viii. 11), *laeta mente* (Catullus lxiv. 236), which are in every respect the same as Italian and French *obstinément*, *ostinatamente*, *lietamente*.

The derivation of the Romance adverbs from phrases with *mente* is, of course, obvious, and is mentioned in all grammars of Romance languages. But apparently it has not been noticed that the usage in Latin was quite general and was firmly established in the best writers of the best period. It might be mentioned in this connection that in Spanish, at least, the ending *mente* has retained sufficient independence that in a series of such adverbs it is used but once. Cf. *habla docta, concisa y elegantemente* (Hills-Ford, *Spanish Grammar*, p. 163).

Now in Virgil we have a number of phrases in which *mente* is used with a limiting adjective. These are the following:

- | | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>Aen.</i> i. 26: | manet alta mente repostum |
| <i>Aen.</i> ii. 407: | Non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus |
| <i>Aen.</i> ii. 588: | (Talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar) |
| <i>Aen.</i> iv. 100: | habes tota quod mente petebas |
| <i>Aen.</i> iv. 105: | sensit enim simulata mente locutam |
| <i>Aen.</i> ix. 292: | percussa mente dedere |
| 293: | Dardanidae lacrimas |
| <i>Culex</i> 58: | O bona pastoris si quis non pauperis usum |
| 59: | mente prius docta fastidiat |
| <i>Culex</i> 80: | quam qui mente procul pura sensuque probando |
| <i>Culex</i> 309: | truderet in classis inimica mente Pelasgas |
| <i>Ciris</i> 327: | ne tantum in facinus tam nulla mente sequaris |

All these phrases are plainly modal, with the possible exception of *Aen.* ii. 407. And if we take *non tulit* not as a mere negation but as a positive exercise of will, "refused to endure," this verse also will be brought within the scheme. It is plain that if we were to write them and pronounce them in Italian or Spanish, *altamente* means "deeply"; *furiatamente* means "furiously"; *totamente* means "completely," and so on. It may well be that a satisfactory English rendering may require the use of other words in a translation of the entire passage, but it seems to me that the adverbial character of the phrase is perfectly apparent in all of them, and that *mente* is scarcely distinguishable here from the romance adverbial suffix.

This seems further confirmed by the fact that in every instance but two the limiting adjective precedes *mente*, and except in *Aen.* iv. 100 immediately

precedes it. Does that not indicate that this order, in which the noun is practically a suffix, was the one that came most readily to the Roman popular tongue? In the two exceptions, both in the *Culex*, metrical considerations may have determined the inversion. The youthful Virgil, we may suppose, was not completely—*totamente*—master of his technique. And if we recall that the suffix *mente* is still slightly independent in modern Spanish, it cannot be surprising that it was not yet wholly dependent in the time of Virgil.

If the *tam nulla mente* of the last verse gives us pause, we have only to translate “so brainlessly,” and be quite at ease.

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ILIADE xxiii. 670 ONCE MORE

While writers on the Greek genius complacently develop the commonplace of the greater complexity of the modern mind, more errors arise from failure to understand the subtlety of the psychology even of the primitive Homer than from any other single source. The difficulties discovered by philologists in *Ilia* xxiii. 670 are a typical example.

ἢ οὐχ ἀλις δττι μάχης ἐπιδεύματι; οὐδ' ἄρα πως ἡν
ἐν πάντεσσι' ἴργοισι δαήμονα φῶτα γενίσθαι.
ῳδε γάρ ἐξερέω, τὸ δὲ καὶ τετελεσμένον θσται.
ἀντικρὺ χρόν τε βῆξω σὸν τ' ὅστε' ἀράξω.

There is no problem if we once perceive that the boxer Epeius is soliloquizing for all the world like an old woman in George Eliot “in a hurt and argumentative tone of voice.” His speech is a humorous character study. He has long been “sore” because of his inferiority in battle and relative obscurity. Now is his opportunity for boastful self-affirmation. “Isn’t it enough,” he begins, complaining of destiny and mankind, “that I am a second rater in battle—men have divers gifts”—but is somebody going to try to take from me the first prize in boxing? I’ll push his face in for him.” That is the tone and the psychological logic of the passage.

Without wishing to dogmatize on what at first glance might seem a matter of opinion, I am inclined to think that Homeric usage hardly allows any other interpretation. There is, of course, no difficulty about *μάχης ἐπιδεύματι*, which the parallels cited in Leaf amply justify in the sense assumed. The phrase *ἢ οὐχ ἀλις* occurs in this position about five times in Homer, never I think in the expression of a merely logical sufficiency, always in the injured protest against the suggested cumulation of one wrong or outrage by another. In *Ilia* v. 348 Diomede shouts to Aphrodite: “Isn’t it bad enough that you beguile women? Would you also meddle with war?” In xvii. 450 the indignant and pitying Zeus soliloquizes, “Isn’t it enough that Hector has the

¹ Cf. Dogberry’s “Gifts that God Gives” with *Ilia* iii. 65 and xiii. 730.

armor of Patroclus? He shall not get his horses." In *Odyssey* ii. 312 Telemachus rebukes the suitors: "Isn't your wasting of my substance heretofore bad enough? Will you continue it now that I am a man?" In *Odyssey* xvii. 376 Antinous rebukes the swineherd: "Why, pray, did'st thou bring this man to the city? Have we not vagabonds enough without him?" (Murray). Apart from the general logic of the passage already explained this fixed usage would, I think, fix the interpretation.

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A RESCUE! A CANNAN TO THE RESCUE!

From 218 to 201 of the era preceding our own, the Romans were engaged in a war with Carthage, their great rival for economic and political power. The armies of Hannibal entered Italy. "On to Rome" was their watchword. On toward the capital they went, slaughtering one Roman army after another. The ordinary routine of life at Rome was entirely changed. Feverish activity, intermittent and fearful anxiety, affected all classes. The manufacture of weapons of war was pushed in frantic haste we may guess even with the aid of the women. Bushels of rings and other souvenirs taken from the Roman dead on the battlefield were sent home across the sea by the Carthaginians. The Romans heard that their enemies had employed marvelous new discoveries, such as the dissolution of rock by the use of heat and acid, to aid in their advance. No such war had ever been known. Huge elephants trampled whole battle lines beneath their Juggernaut advance. Common reports vilified their foes, and they coined the phrase "Punic faith." The earlier treaty signed by Carthage had become a scrap of paper. Mothers expired with joy at the return of sons reported dead; others died of grief when the casualty lists appeared. At the last, the army which silently and swiftly swept from one end of Italy to the other to deal the crushing blow to the invaders was fed by those who stood at the roadside with baskets of food as the lines hurried by. Those armies were not "entrained," those baskets held no packages of cigarettes, and no blue-bonneted Salvation Army sergeant dished the doughnuts in Livy's pages. But these are superficial differences. The Romans knew then what the French and English have since known, and they met similar crises with the same response.

It was during these war years and immediately thereafter that the plays of Plautus were written and first produced. War literature they were with the war atmosphere in some so distinctly visible that it persists even when they are translated into a foreign language for readers who lack the intimate knowledge which is always the basis of allusions. But there are others of them which have not been called war plays. They have seemed to have no manifest connection with the war, and are described by an English authority as "studies in pornography which only the unflagging animal spirits of the poet redeem from being disgusting." These are not the plays generally read

in college classes. College professors have looked upon them as the natural products of a society far removed in time from ours and so utterly different as to be explicable in no words intelligible or suitable to the ears of modern youth. As individuals possessed of mature minds and education the professors have themselves felt what is expressed by Mr. Shaw's greengrocer: "Yes, they would, them Romans. When you're in Rome, do as the Romans do, is an old saying. But we're not in Rome at present, my lord." This has been the traditional attitude.

But many accepted beliefs have been shattered by the recent war and I find myself questioning the accuracy of this judgment on the contemporaries of Plautus. When I read *Sinister Street*, and later followed Sylvia through her peregrinations, there was at least in the first volume a charm of style and a freshness of subject-matter. But when this experience was followed by *Casuals of the Sea* (here riseth the first qualm!), then by *The Pretty Lady*, and when the climax came in *Pink Roses*, I found myself "fed up" *ad nauseam* on the champagne and entrées of the underworld. I began to question whether the meretrix was any more of an accepted and acknowledged institution in the social life of Rome in the second century B.C. than is the Pretty Lady in twentieth-century England. To a distant generation studying the aftermath of modern war literature, would an Englishman's house look like his castle? Or would it rather resemble that transparent variety of residence whose owner can ill afford to cast stones even at the Romans? War is subversive of all ordinary rules of conduct. *Ira furor brevis est*, but complete recovery is not immediate. Pornographic literature seems now to be one of the symptoms of convalescence. Why may not that be the real explanation of the *Casina* and the *Truculentus*? The noble Roman and the English yeoman may after all be brothers. Let us, profiting by our perusal of *Pink Roses*, explain all of Plautus as war literature, a reaction to abnormal conditions, and rescue the early Romans from the invidious comparisons of the ages by sharing with them the benefit of the same doubt which we accord to the substantial fellow-citizens of Gilbert Cannan.

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THE MEANING OF THE VERB *βάπτω*, *βαπτίζω*

The treatment of these cognate verbs in the lexica and in Stephanus is so inadequate that one can get no comprehensive notion of their meaning by studying the examples given by these authorities.

The meaning in the New Testament has been so thoroughly discussed and so closely allies itself with questions of theology that I shall make no reference to any examples found therein.

The two most general meanings of these verbs are, first, "to dip," that is, to go under the water and then to come out, and second, "to submerge," "to sink," that is, to go under the water and to remain there.

Stephanus and Liddell and Scott discuss these two meanings with such an abundance of examples that it is hardly necessary to add to them.

In the Homeric poem *The Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, verse 220, the poet describes the combat between two of these little creatures. One is thrust so severely that the blood shoots from him and the surface of the lake is sprinkled with drops of his gore, *ἐβάπτετο δ' αἷματι λίμνη*. Here the verb can only mean "sprinkled" or "stained by sprinkling."

Lucian in his *True History* xvii (Teubner Text, II, 38) describes a battle in which fabulous monsters fought high up in the air, and as they fought the blood flowed or dropped upon the surface of the clouds, so that the clouds were sprinkled, or colored by sprinkling, and appeared red, *καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἔρρει πολὺ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν, ὥστε αὐτὰ βάπτεσθαι καὶ ἐρυθρὰ φαίνεσθαι*. That the author means the blood came in drops and not in streams is shown by the next sentence, in which he says, "Perhaps Homer had just such a thing as this in mind when he told how Zeus rained blood at the death of Sarpēdon, *αἷματι ὥσται τὸν Δία κτλ.*"

Achilles, *Iliad* xviii. 329, bewails the death of Patroclus by saying that it is fatal that he and his friend shall stain the same soil with their blood, *ὅμοιην γαῖαν ἐρεῦσαι*. To this passage the scholiast gives the following explanation, *ἐρεῦσαι, ἐκ τοῦ ἐρεύθω τὸ βάπτω*.

In each of these passages quoted the verb must mean to sprinkle, or, what is really the same thing, to color by sprinkling, and in no one of them can the idea of submerge or immerse be obtained even by the most forced interpretation.

JOHN A. SCOTT

[NOTE.—Socrates' accuser was Meletus and not Miletus, an unaccountable spelling which appeared in the April number. How I came to change the vowels in this word is beyond comprehension and it is a great humiliation, but even so there is some satisfaction in knowing that what one writes is read by others than himself. J. A. S.]

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for the territory covered by the Association of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States, west to the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the South and Eastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Miss Bertha Green, Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—occurrences from month to month, meetings, changes in faculties, performances of various kinds, etc. All news items should be sent to the associate editors named above.]

California

Berkeley.—The Central Section of the Classical Association of the Pacific States met at Berkeley on June 30 and July 1. The following program was presented: Greetings, Professor James T. Allen, University of California; "Latin Prose in the High School," Miss Kate Herrick, Sacramento High School; "Observations of a School Visitor," Professor William A. Merrill, University of California; "The Value of Latin to a Student of English Composition," Professor Chauncey W. Wells, University of California; "The Indebtedness of Romanic Literature to Latin," Professor Rudolph Schevill, University of California; "The Basis for Interest in Latin," Professor Frances E. Sabin, University of Wisconsin; "The Future of Latin," Professor Louis J. Paetow, University of California; "The Roumanian Language and Literature," Dr. Charles U. Clark; "The Biography of Vergil in Modern Times," Professor Duane Reed Stuart, Princeton University.

Illinois

Chicago.—The Latin and Greek section of the Thirty-second Educational Conference of the Academies and High Schools in Relation with the University of Chicago met on May 14 with a gratifying large attendance. The program of this section as of the other departmental sections centered around the subject of textbooks, and was as follows: "Textbooks for the First Year," Elizabeth Faulkner, Faulkner School, Chicago; "Textbooks for the Second Year," A. L. Waldron, The University School, Cleveland, Ohio; "Textbooks for the Third and Fourth Years," G. A. Whipple, Evanston Township High School, Evanston; General Discussion. The readers of the papers had made thorough preparation of their subjects and gave a very valuable because full and fair-minded presentation of the different classes of textbooks.

In connection with the same conference was held a series of prize scholarship examinations participated in by Senior classmen of the co-operating high schools. The students were distributed as follows in the different examinations: American History, 31; Botany, 9; Chemistry, 42; English, 61; French, 34; German, 6; Latin, 39; Mathematics, 52; Physics, 17; Spanish, 19.

The winner of the contest in Latin was Harold Miller, of the Nicholas Senn High School, Chicago.

On July 23 a rally of the classical students and faculty was held in Classics Building at the University of Chicago. Professor Miller presided. Professors Kellogg, Carr, and others spoke, all emphasizing the importance to the teacher of the Classical Associations and the *Journal*. Over half the large assembly were found to be already members. Nearly all of the remainder made application for membership.

Indiana

Mishawaka.—Miss Jane Eddington contributes the following account of her experience with Latin clubs. Miss Eddington is a member of a committee of Latin teachers in the state of Indiana named for the purpose of promoting the teaching of Latin. Her special work as a member of the committee is the promotion of high-school Latin clubs.

When we began to consider the organization of a club in our Latin department of the Mishawaka High School, we faced as our most serious problem a time of meeting when all who wished to belong would be able to attend. Our school does not close until four o'clock, and by that time both pupils and teachers are too tired to attempt a successful club meeting. And if the meeting is not a success, why have it? Besides this difficulty, many of our pupils work after school and are therefore unable to attend any meeting. I have never favored night meetings, except on some special occasion, because there are other activities that demand the evening hours and because some of the most alert and interested pupils cannot come at night because of the distance.

After much thought we decided to organize our Cicero class into a club. We elected a president, vice-president, and secretary-treasurer. Meetings were held on alternate Mondays (the class preferred Monday) during the class period. There were no dues. The programs had to do with Roman life and history. We found Miss Paxson's *Handbook for Latin Clubs* invaluable in furnishing suggestions. At the close of the year we gave Miss Paxson's play, *A Roman Wedding*, before the student body.

The following year my Caesar class organized with the name "Legio Decima," and our "club periods" were spent doing work suggested by Miss Sabin's *Relation of Latin to Practical Life*. We kept the material in notebooks—special books which our printing department made for us. The class showed much interest in this work, especially in the collecting of advertisements.

Last year we decided to enlarge the club and allow more classes the privilege of membership. Accordingly we formed what we termed a Latin federation, for lack of a more suitable name. Any pupil who had credits for one year's work might belong. Pupils who had met the Latin requirements but were no longer in the department were allowed to be honorary members. As we still had no time for a general meeting, we continued our plan of using the class periods. Meetings were held in the individual classes. The officers were chosen from the entire group—the president from the most advanced class and the others in turn. Late in October we gave a party, the occasion being the initiation of the beginning Caesar pupils. An account of this party will be found in *Classical Journal*, XV (February, 1920), No. 5.

Our school supports a number of clubs, and the problems that confronted the Latin club were also problems of other departments. About the beginning of our second semester, 1920, our principal worked out a new plan for all clubs. He grouped them in two divisions: (1) language (French, Latin), history, art, (2) English, science, commercial. The first group was to meet the first Friday of each month, the second group the third Friday—the last period of the afternoon. Pupils could belong to one club in each group, but of course no more. Membership dues of twenty-five cents were assessed on all clubs.

This plan eliminates some of our problems, but there are others to be solved. One of the big difficulties is how to present a program that will be adapted to pupils of various stages of study. For our first program under the new plan we gave the *Labors of Hercules* with some dramatization. For the second we used one of the programs in Miss Paxson's *Handbook*. At the next we showed slides, Eastman slides No. 1, *The Roman House*. These were furnished by the Extension Department of Indiana University.

This is a summary of our work thus far. The problem now is that of making the programs worth while, and we shall be very glad to receive suggestions from teachers interested in this work.

Iowa

The University of Iowa.—Following is an extract from Professor Ullman's *News Letter* to classical teachers of Iowa:

The Conference of Latin Teachers held at the University on March 5 and 6 was a distinct success. The attendance was large and the discussion was lively. The exhibits attracted much attention.

Particular interest was shown in the discussion of Latin for English. The Latin Department of the University is devoting special attention to this subject and will be glad to give help to teachers. A course on "The Latin Element in Modern Speech" is being offered in the first term of the coming summer session. The course is intended particularly for teachers of Latin and English and offers practical suggestions. Other courses of interest to Latin teachers are offered by Professors Ullman and Potter and Mr. Gillespie. Special attention is called to the possibility of doing graduate work in Latin and Greek in the summer session.

A reprint of Professor Sherman's splendid article on "English and the Latin Question" will be sent free on application to Professor H. J. Barton, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Professor Sherman is a professor of English.

The consensus of opinion at the Latin Conference was that the reading of Caesar should be postponed and that the first half of the second year be devoted to easy reading and further work in elementary Latin. Many expressed the same opinion at the recent meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South at Cleveland.

Superintendent Harris pointed out at the Conference that Dewey's statement (*How We Think*, p. 72) of the processes of logical or scientific thought exactly covers the processes which the student goes through in translating a Latin sentence: "(1) a felt difficulty; (2) its location and definition; (3) suggestion of possible solution; (4) development by reasoning of the bearings of the suggestion; (5) further observation and experiment leading to its acceptance or rejection; that is, the conclusion of belief or disbelief."

Kentucky

Louisville.—All teachers of Latin in the Middle West and South will be interested in hearing of the great annual event which has been successfully inaugurated by the Latin Club of the Louisville Male High School. The inception of the Bi-State Latin Championship Contest to determine the best classical high-school student in the two states of Kentucky and Indiana is but the beginning of greater achievements by this club, now numbering 125 members. By the close of this year, its first year of existence, it will have given four gold medals in the encouragement of classical study in the high schools. Properly to consummate its labors it has just held its first annual bi-state competition.

Twenty-eight leading high schools and other secondary schools of prominence throughout Kentucky and Indiana were represented by two students each, making a total of fifty-six young men and women in the actual competition. The question paper was prepared by Miss Susan Paxson, Central High School, Omaha, by whom also the winner will be declared. The fortunate student will be the recipient of a most distinguished honor, as well as the gold medal and the *magna cum laude* of the club.

The conduct of the contest was in charge of a committee appointed by Dr. Mullin, president of the Baptist Theological Seminary of Louisville.

The affair was also a social one, as luncheon was served in the cafeteria of the school, a theater party after the contest, and a banquet at six o'clock at the Cortland, at which plates were served to 105 guests. All expenses were met by the club. We desire it to be known that this is an annual event to which all secondary schools of the two states are not only invited but also challenged to enter. The affair will occur each year on the first Friday in May.

The names of those prominently connected with this great undertaking should be mentioned. Mr. H. D. Cannon, head of the department of Latin of the Male High School, and director of the club, conceived the idea, mapped out the details, and presented the matter to the club. The idea was immediately popular; the literature was prepared and sent broadcast over the territory. Through the untiring energy and enthusiasm of the president of the club, J. K. Dunn, who was aided by every member, the effort has met with the utmost success. Even with the Derby on the boards here the same day, the several papers of the city gave us voluntarily and unsolicited half-columns of space. Much credit is due Miss Olive Catlin and her Latin Club of Girls of the Girls' High School for their valuable assistance in their entertainment of guests.

Massachusetts

Boston.—The annual meeting of the Classical Club of Greater Boston was held at Boston College on Saturday, May 15, with the following program: "Prelection of a Latin Author in the Classroom," Rev. Fr. Phillip H. Burkett, S.J., Boston College; Forum: "The Foreign Languages in the Curriculum of Secondary Schools," Mr. F. H. Nickerson, superintendent of schools, Med-

ford; discussion opened by Professor A. H. Rice of Boston University; "The Practical Use in Teaching French of Its Connection with Latin," Mr. F. H. Smith, of Browne and Nichols School, Cambridge; "Teaching of Literature in French Lycée by the Explication of the Texts," Professor Andre Morize, of Harvard University.

In the absence of Rev. William J. Devlin, S.J., president of Boston College, and vice-president of the Classical Club, Rev. Fr. McCaffrey, dean of the college, presided. Dr. Burkett's paper was of unusual interest, not only for its educational value but because it brought prominently to the front the idea of *repetition*, a subject too often ignored by Latin teachers.

In the Forum discussion Mr. Nickerson spoke upon the new plan for admission to college, proposed by the Committee on College Entrance Requirements of the New England Association of School Superintendents.

On the recommendation of Mr. Frederic A. Tupper, head master of the Brighton High School, chairman of the Nominating Committee, the following officers for next year were elected: president, Rev. Willard Reed, Browne and Nichols School, Cambridge; vice-presidents, Dr. Ellen F. Pendleton, president of Wellesley College, Rev. William Devlin, S.J., president of Boston College, Professor Alexander H. Rice, Boston University; secretary, Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School; treasurer, Thornton Jenkins, head master, Malden High School; censor, Albert S. Perkins, Dorchester High School.

Michigan

Lansing.—Miss Mary C. Tunison, of the Latin department of the Lansing High School, sends in the following very entertaining and instructive program given by her students this spring:

The Muses are brought back to earth in the following novel Latin program which may be adopted by any high-school Latin department.

The stage is occupied by nine girls dressed to represent the nine Muses. The program is in their charge, as follows:

Prelude—Arma Virumquo Cano—(Girls' Chorus).
Clio, Muse of History—Narratio.
Polyhymnia, Muse of Sacred Song—"The Priest's March"—(Mendelssohn)
(flute, violin, and piano).
Melpomene, Muse of Tragedy—"Dido's Lament" (in Latin).
Erato, Muse of Love Songs—
 Via Longa ("A Long, Long Trail").
 Bullae ("I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles"). (Girls' Chorus.)
Thalia, Muse of Comedy—Colloquium.
Terpsichore, Muse of Choral Dance—Dance of the Nymphs.
Urania, Muse of Astronomy—"Mica, Mica, parva Stella."
Euterpe, Muse of Harmony—"Slumber Song" (Trio).
Calliope, Muse of Epic Poetry—"Horatius at the Bridge."
Postlude—"Te Cano Patria" ("America"). (All sing.)
 Finis

The program was given under the supervision of Miss Nina Bristol, head of the department of Latin, Lansing High School. She wrote the Narratio, a narrative in blank verse which linked the program together.

The Muses made their entrance while the Girls' Chorus chanted "Arma Virumque Cano." Clio, Muse of History, assumed the leading rôle, explained the presence of the gods among mortals, and introduced her sisters.

Erato, Muse of Love Songs, offered a waggish translation in Latin of some popular songs. "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles" became a classic:

Semper facio aquae bullas,
Pulchras bullas in aere.
Volant in altum,
Tangunt caelum,
Tum ut somnia evanescunt;
Fortuna se celat,
Quaero ubique;
Semper facio aquae bullas,
Pulchras bullas in aere.

The Colloquium consisted of a Latin puzzle and was accompanied by a chart. A humorous dialogue or short Latin play might be substituted here.

The Dance of the Nymphs was an interpretation of Fritz Kreisler's "Rondino on a Theme from Beethoven."

The tiniest "star" in the Latin department recited "Mica, Mica, parva Stella" at the behest of the Muse of Astronomy.

The audience, provided with copies of "Te Cano Patria" ("America"), was invited to sing with the chorus in closing:

Te Cano, Patria,
semper et atria
ingenuum.
Laudo virentia
culmina, flumina;
sentio gaudia
caelicolum.

Sit modulatio!
Libera natio
dulce canat!
Labra vigentia,
ora faventia,
saxa silentia
vox repletat!

Tutor es unicus,
unus avum deus!
Laudo libens.
Patria iuceat,
libera fulgeat,
vis tua omnipotens muniat

The possibilities of the entertainment which each Muse presents are, of course, various and may be changed to suit the requirements of performers and audience.

The material used at Lansing may be secured from three sources: "Arma Virumque Cano" (with music), *Two Dramatizations from Vergil* (Miller); "Slumber Song" (with music), *Two Dramatizations from Vergil* (Miller); "Te Cano Patria," *Handbook for Latin Clubs* (Paxson).

New York

Alfred.—On May 26 the students of Alfred University gave a presentation of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. The play was given in the English version

of Gilbert Murray, and the powerful lines were applauded again and again by an enthusiastic audience which taxed to the utmost the lawn in front of Kenyon Memorial Hall. The costuming had been worked out with a nicety and harmony seldom seen, and the music for the choral odes, which had been specially written for the occasion, was beautifully appropriate. All the characters were well cast and the rôles were well enacted so that the entire presentation was proof of the sheer beauty and the universal power of a Greek drama written over two thousand years ago.

The success of the play was enhanced by the lighting, which was arranged to harmonize with the costumes. Another interesting thing was the making of tickets in facsimile of those used in the Athenian theater. These were made in clay and distributed as souvenirs.

Ohio

Cincinnati.—The Cincinnati Classical Club has had an excellent program this year, a program which has drawn to the various meetings many new friends as well as old ones. Miss Dorothea Spinney, of Stratford-on-Avon, under the auspices of the Cincinnati Classical Club gave on November 12 *Hippolytus*; on November 19, *Hamlet*; on November 26, *The Bacchae*. At the meeting on December 9 Dr. Andrew West, of Princeton, read an interesting paper on "Horace: the Man." On February 21 Dr. John Scott, of Northwestern University, delivered an entertaining address on "Homer and the Homeric Scholars I Have Known." On March 31 Dr. Paul Shorey read his paper on "The Classics and Patriotism," a brilliant presentation.

The meetings have all been inspiring and most enthusiastically received. The meetings are held in the Auditorium at the University of Cincinnati, and are followed by a social hour over the teacups in the Woman's Building at the University.

The American Classical League met on June 23 and 24 at the Hotel Sinton. An interesting program was presented and two important business meetings held. An early number of the *Journal* will be devoted to the papers and proceedings of this session of the League.

Pennsylvania

Bryn Mawr.—On May 19 the Senior class of the Phoebe Anna Thorne Model School gave their commencement play, "The Fall of Troy," a dramatization of the second book of the *Aeneid*. The dramatization and translation were made by four members of the class, under the direction of their instructor, Miss Elsie Hobson. As announced in the introduction, "in the interests of coherence and dramatic effect some of the longer speeches have been omitted or shortened, and some speeches, not in the text, have been inserted."

The play, published in the school's magazine, *Pagoda Sketches*, is of a high order of merit, and does great credit to the students and the department who produced it.

Book Reviews

Phases of Corruption in Roman Administration in the Last Half-Century of the Roman Republic By RICHARD ORLANDO JOLLIFFE. Menasha, Wis.: The Collegiate Press (George Banta Publishing Co.). Pp. xi+109.

Signs multiply that classical studies in the classical field are acquiring reality. We are slowly coming to see the necessity of demonstrating that life—not merely the illustration of life—beats beneath the marble calm of the classics. We shall yet have the courage and the wisdom to treat the great books such as Thucydides, the *Ethics* and *Politics* of Aristotle, Plato's *Republic*, the *Letters* of Cicero, as containing the ultimate, living problems of society from which we cannot escape.

Dr. Jolliffe has produced a highly valuable handbook for the texts on the fall of the Roman Republic. The chapters on the "Navy" and "Embassies" are perhaps done the best, but there is really very little missed in the great mass of material which he collects except in one area. How is the collection of provincial taxes to be brought under a scheme which plans eventually to cover the field of administrative corruption in the last half-century of the Republic? Yet nothing touches more nearly the indictment which history brings against the republican administration of the Empire. He does well to omit the abnormal, such as the Eastern reconstruction of Pompey and Caesar, but the matter of revenue is of the very substance of provincial administration, and it is not easy to see how he will provide for it under "Domestic Politics" and "Judicial Administration." His scheme is undeniably logical. Despite the *lex provinciae* which gives a limited civil character to provincial government, it was, at the core, military. This is its vice. The revenue was in theory indemnity for pacification and administration, as is indicated in the word *stipendia*, "pay for the troops." But what a gap this scheme leaves can be seen by examining the use made by Deloume, one of Dr. Jolliffe's authorities, of Plutarch's "Lucullus" (*Les Manieurs d'Argent à Rome*, pp. 270-71).

Dr. Jolliffe wisely allows for the rhetoric in Cicero's speeches, but Cicero might perhaps have been defended against himself more heartily in his correspondence. It is a little strong to characterize his savings from his governor's allowance as "disgraceful" either on his part or on that of the government which legalized it. He did not desire a province and he was excessively eager to give an example of clean-handed administration. Would he have incurred an open risk of criticism on this score? He probably concealed the bargain he made with Antonius in 63 B.C. for a share in his savings in Macedonia under the pseudonym Teucris, but hardly for this reason. On the other hand, there

is a bluff honesty in his brother Quintus which is missed. The "ferocity" of which Marcus complains, in Quintus' reference to the bogus tax-collector (*Q.F.* i. 2. 6), was hardly misplaced, and his refusal to allow a municipality to pay the contractor for a statue (*Q.F.* i. 2. 14) was a humane and blunt protest against a typical and gross abuse of the provincials.

It is unfortunately inherent in the *genre* of the doctor's thesis that absorption in the collection of the material should give an air of unreality to such general positions as are taken. Such a dissertation as this is as much "political" as it is "classical." Should we not take our courage in our hands? The practice of leaving prosecution to private initiative is too important for the word "curious," the growing sense of power in the soldiery deserves a much greater emphasis as a matter of great historical significance, and we are surely bound to ask and to make some attempt to answer whether the *prima labes malorum* lay in the tax-farming which Rome took over—the "shirt of Nessus, the fatal gift of the vanquished"—or in the lack of legislative safeguards, or in refusal to apply them, or in the system itself as Rome developed it or as it reacted on Roman character. "Imperialism" and "nationalism" do not help us much. A sense of national and social superiority, however human and mournful in the main, is not inconsistent with honesty and fair play—we are unjust and mean before we are arrogant.

Quis custodiet custodes—especially among democrats? "At least new light is being thrown upon the method of its solution," says Dr. Jolliffe. The word is an unhappy slip. What is the "method"? The substitution for "rampant individualism," he replies, of "community." But by what method are we to develop this very modern equivalent for "humanitas"?

We have our feet on the solid earth if we say "responsibility," and this much method may fairly be called administrative first principles: first, it should be made the interest of the administrator to administer well; secondly, there should be control of administration that is not interested. This latter having been established, what happens to our *custodes*? Unless society is deliberately educating and choosing good men, they promptly shoulder responsibility upon those who control, and so again we begin to roll the "shameless stone."

But it would be ungracious to allow the remarks called out by a concluding page (p. 106) to affect the reader's impression of a book, which will be recognized and used as a real aid to higher classical education.

W. S. MILNER

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO

Recent Books

Foreign books in this list may be obtained from Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 West 27th St., New York City; G. E. Stechert & Co., 151-155 West 25th St., New York City; F. C. Stechert & Co., 29-35 West 32d St., New York City.

- ALLEN, GRANT. *Classical Rome*. New edition. (Historical guides.) New York: Frederick H. Stokes Co. Pp. 372. \$1.75.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME. *Memoirs*, Vol. III. Rome: American Academy. Pp. 101, pls. 91.
- ARISTOPHANES. *The Birds of Aristophanes*, considered in relation to Athenian politics, by E. G. Harman. London: Arnold. Pp. viii+135. 10s. 6d.
- BEAZLEY, JOHN D. *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. xii+124. \$15.00.
- CASSON, STANLEY. *Hellenic Studies*. London: Elkins Mathews Co. Pp. 118. 6s.
- COUPERUS, LOUIS M. A. *The Tour*. A story of ancient Egypt. Translated from the Dutch by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 321. \$2.00.
Describes a party of Romans of the period of Tiberius touring Egypt.
- DICKINS, GUY. *Hellenistic Sculpture*. With a preface by Percy Gardner. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xiv+99. 16s.
- Euclid in Greek*. Book I, with introduction and notes by Sir Thomas L. Heath. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Pp. viii+239. \$3.25.
- FISKE, GEORGE C. *Lucilius and Horace*. A study in the classical theory of imitation. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin. Pp. 524. \$2.50.
- FORSYTHE, JOHN E., AND GUMMERE, RICHARD M. *Major Latin*. Declensions and conjugations, syntax, Roman customs, for high schools and preparatory schools. Book II. Philadelphia: Christopher Sower Co. Pp. 288. \$2.00.
- FOWLER, WILLIAM WARDE. *Roman Essays and Interpretations*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 290. \$5.65.
- GROOT, A. W. DE. *A Handbook of Antique Prose Rhythm*. I: "History of Greek Prose-Meter: Demosthenes, Plato, Philo, Plutarch, and Others"; bibliography, curves, index. New York: G. E. Stechert. Pp. 228. \$2.50.
- HAMBIDGE, JAY. *Dynamic Symmetry*. The Greek vase. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. Pp. 161. \$6.00.
- LAING, GORDON J. *The Genitive of Value in Latin, and Other Constructions with Verbs of Rating*. Chicago: University of Chicago. Pp. 48. \$0.75.
- MFAYDEN, DONALD. *The History of the Title "Imperator" under the Roman Empire*. Chicago: University of Chicago. Pp. ix+67. \$0.75.
- METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, NEW YORK. *Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Classical Style*, by Gisela M. A. Richter. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Pp. 232. \$5.00.